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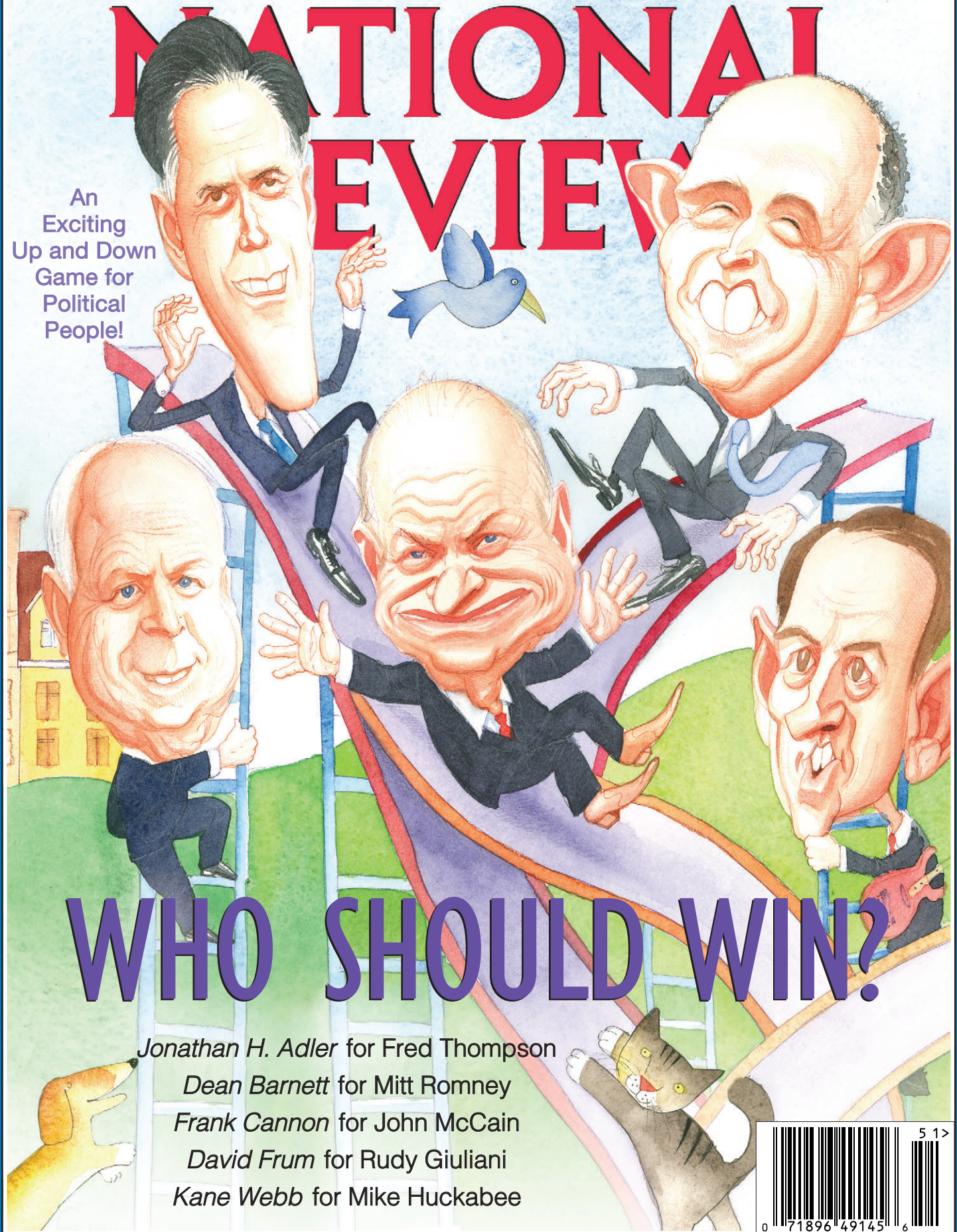

WHO SHOULD WIN?

Jonathan H. Adler for Fred Thompson
Dean Barnett for Mitt Romney
Frank Cannon for John McCain
David Frum for Rudy Giuliani
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NATIONAL REVIEW

DECEMBER 17, 2007 VOL. LIX, NO. 23

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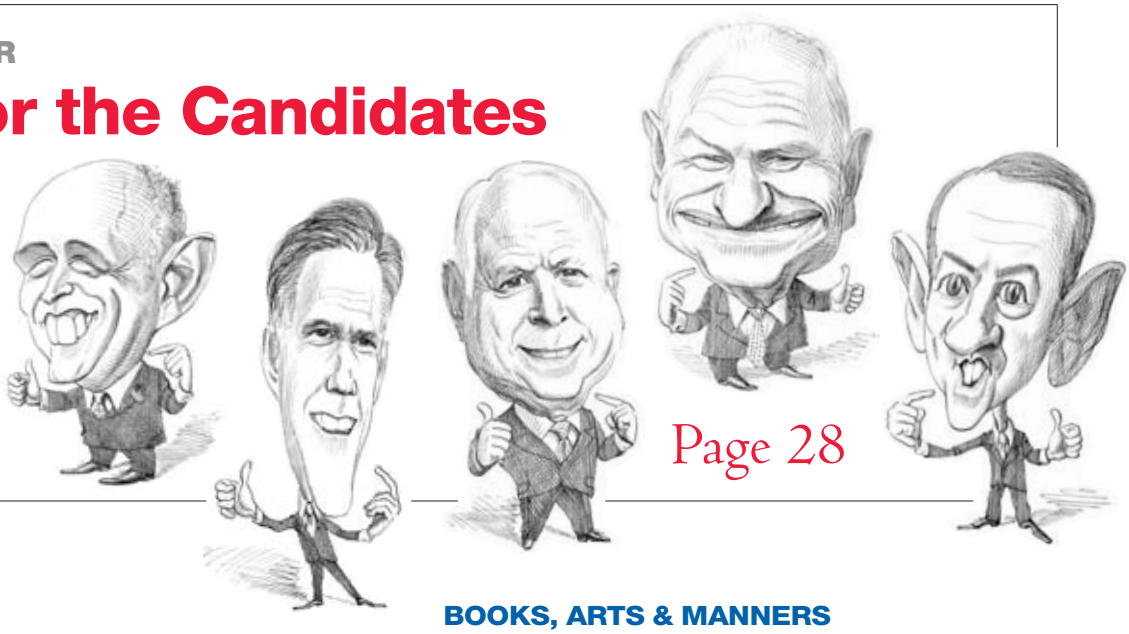
Cases for the Candidates

David Frum, Dean Barnett, Frank Cannon, Jonathan H. Adler, and Kane Webb lay out the arguments.



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DOUBLETAKE

Kate O'Beirne tries to convince conservatives to take a "second look" at John McCain (November 5). But conservatives have already had quite a few looks at McCain: first when he was a Reaganite conservative, then when he abandoned those fiscal principles in the Keating Five scandal, then when he championed the Constitution-busting campaign-finance reform that still has the GOP on the financial ropes and chafes the pro-life movement, then when he fought every one of Bush's tax cuts and the abolition of the death tax, then when he fought the Senate leadership's effort to force through strict-constructionist judges.

The new McCain is sadly very much the old McCain—a populist, but no conservative.

But even the primary motivation she cites for opening up to McCain—his ability to win in the general election—doesn't fly. It is telling that the new look encouraged by Mrs. O'Beirne does not include another look at the McCain tax record—actually, not even one mention. Conservatives are once again rallying around the supply-side, low-tax, greater-liberty message that has always been central to its electoral success. Nominating someone who was on Hillary's side in the fight for the Bush tax cuts (and is still there on abolishing the death tax) would spell disaster for Republicans next November, regardless of what year-out polling says.

Christopher Butler
Americans for Tax Reform
Washington, D.C.

KATE O'BEIRNE RESPONDS: A second look can't take the place of the total transfusion that would be needed to eliminate the bad blood between Mr. Butler's single-issue organization and John McCain. The senator is partly responsible by voting against the Bush tax cuts that he now vows to keep on the books. This pledge is in accord with his career-long record of never supporting a general tax increase. Mr. Butler argues that McCain's record of supporting some tax cuts and opposing others, while never raising income taxes, will alienate voters in a general election—even if he is running against a Democrat whose record and agenda should alarm taxpayers. He cites no evidence for this assertion because there is none.

SMOOTH OPERATOR

I was appalled, and befuddled, by Jonah Goldberg's associating Frank Rich and his recent *New York Times* rant with "sweaty ham-radio operators and religious militiamen" (The Week, December 3).

Having been an active ham-radio operator for over 60 years, I can assure Mr. Goldberg that we compose one of the most diverse groups of individuals to be found on this earth. We are heads of state, truck drivers, scientists, high-school students, mechanics, authors, congressmen; butchers, bakers, candlestick makers; doctors, lawyers, CEOs . . . and, yes, you can probably find a few militiamen if you look hard enough.

However, what we aren't is political zealots. I admit to getting sweaty sometimes, when helping a friend hoist a new antenna to the top of a tower or operating from a tropical island without benefit of air conditioning. But never as a ham-radio operator have I worked up a sweat from "political paranoia."

Joseph Schroeder
W9JUV
Glenview, Ill.

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A Moral Core for U.S. Foreign Policy

Why American policy must promote American values abroad

Some have claimed—and indeed the 2002 National Security Strategy and other statements of President Bush flirt with—that U.S. values and interests are closely aligned or can be so. Such an argument effectively dodges the question of which should take precedence. And indeed, it may be that "failed states" are something the United States should take action to prevent because of the potential for danger of no one is being in charge. We disagree on the relative magnitude of the danger; we agree, however, that U.S. action to prevent the failure of states is morally good. The point is that, without the moral frame of reference, one could imagine a debate about whether the collapse of a state into civil war, warlordism, and genocide is good or bad for the United States—and that such a debate would remain imaginary, because it can never occur in the real world.

—Derek Chollet and Tod Lindberg

Doing Justice to Zacarias Moussaoui

Neither a madman nor an aspiring martyr but an enemy

Moussaoui laid out numerous particular grounds for accusing the court-appointed defense lawyers of what he styled "criminal nonassistance," but the fundamental fact of his being at war with the United States was, as he made unmistakably clear, the single overriding reason for his refusing their representation. "What on earth is the problem for the jurors to know that this defense doesn't belong to me?" he exclaimed, in defending his attempts to alert them to this fact during jury selection. "You own everything. You are America—the defense, the judge, the attackers. These people are American. I'm al Qaeda. I'm a sworn enemy of you. You, you, you, you, for me you are enemy."

—John Rosenthal

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THE WEEK

■ Rudy-Huck '08? Between the two of them, the ticket will have one solid conservative.

■ The phone in the Iowa or New Hampshire kitchen rings. It's a pollster—blah blah blah. But, as the questions unspool, they assume a particular tendency: Would the fact that X (the religion of candidate Y) believes Z, prejudice you against Y? The phenomenon is called push-polling, and the latest victim is Mitt Romney. (The pollsters mentioned that the Mormon Church, to which he belongs, had no black bishops as recently as the 1970s.) NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE reported the scandal, including speculation that the polling firm had ties to Romney supporters (a devious supporter might push-poll his own candidate to create a scandal, as a form of inoculation). The Romney campaign "emphatically" rejected this "insinuation." Romney himself had the best word: "Attempts to attack me on the basis of my faith are un-American." In practice, religious politicking is as American as apple pie: Politics is a contact sport. But our ideals, which also restrain our actions, are with Romney—and with George Washington, when he said the government of the United States "gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance."

■ Sen. Trent Lott's retirement announcement brings a close to a 35-year Capitol Hill career that saw the Mississippi legislator rise from a backbencher in the House to Senate majority leader. While serving in the House minority, Lott played an important role in the ascendancy of the restive, reform-minded conservative caucus as a staunch ally of Newt Gingrich and Jack Kemp. Regrettably, in the Senate his combativeness and tenacity were more frequently employed to score pork spending for Mississippi than to advance the conservative principles he once championed. In the course of giving extravagant praise to his colleague Strom Thurmond on the occasion of the latter's hundredth birthday, he appeared to long for the good old Dixiecrat days. He badly handled the fallout from his foolish remarks and was forced to step aside as majority leader. Lott's return to Senate leadership four years later is a testament to the skill and determination of the former Ole Miss cheerleader who got off the sidelines, took to the field, and mastered the game.

■ In our last issue, we commented that Fred Thompson had released the most detailed and conservative set of policy prescriptions on Social Security and immigration. He now has a detailed, conservative tax-reform proposal too, and there is a lot to like in it. He would abolish the Alternative Minimum Tax, make the Bush tax cuts permanent, and cut the corporate tax rate. He would let taxpayers opt out of the current tax code in favor of a new, simpler system with only two rates (10 percent and 25 percent). Our main reservation about Thompson's plan, modeled

See page 12

ROMAN GENN

on a plan that conservatives in the House have introduced, concerns its treatment of children. Having children reduces the tax burden for most parents, and that is appropriate. An ideal tax system would apply a low rate on consumption, and take care not to overtax investment—including parents' investment in children, from which we all benefit via future payroll-tax revenue. A child credit was a central component of the Republicans' Contract with America in 1994, and after Republicans enacted that credit President Bush expanded it. The new, simpler system Thompson advocates would scale back this tax benefit, in effect raising marginal tax rates on family formation. We hope he modifies his plan. Whatever he does, other candidates should advance plans that are both pro-growth and pro-family.

■ There was scant reason to think the Annapolis conference would help resolve the Israeli–Palestinian dispute. Breakthroughs have historically come when both sides act from a position of strength. Ehud Olmert is fighting for political survival, and the parties on which his governing coalition depends will not countenance painful concessions: a surrender of Arab neighborhoods in east Jerusalem, for example, or an Israeli return to 1967 borders. Meanwhile, Mahmoud Abbas has seen Hamas take

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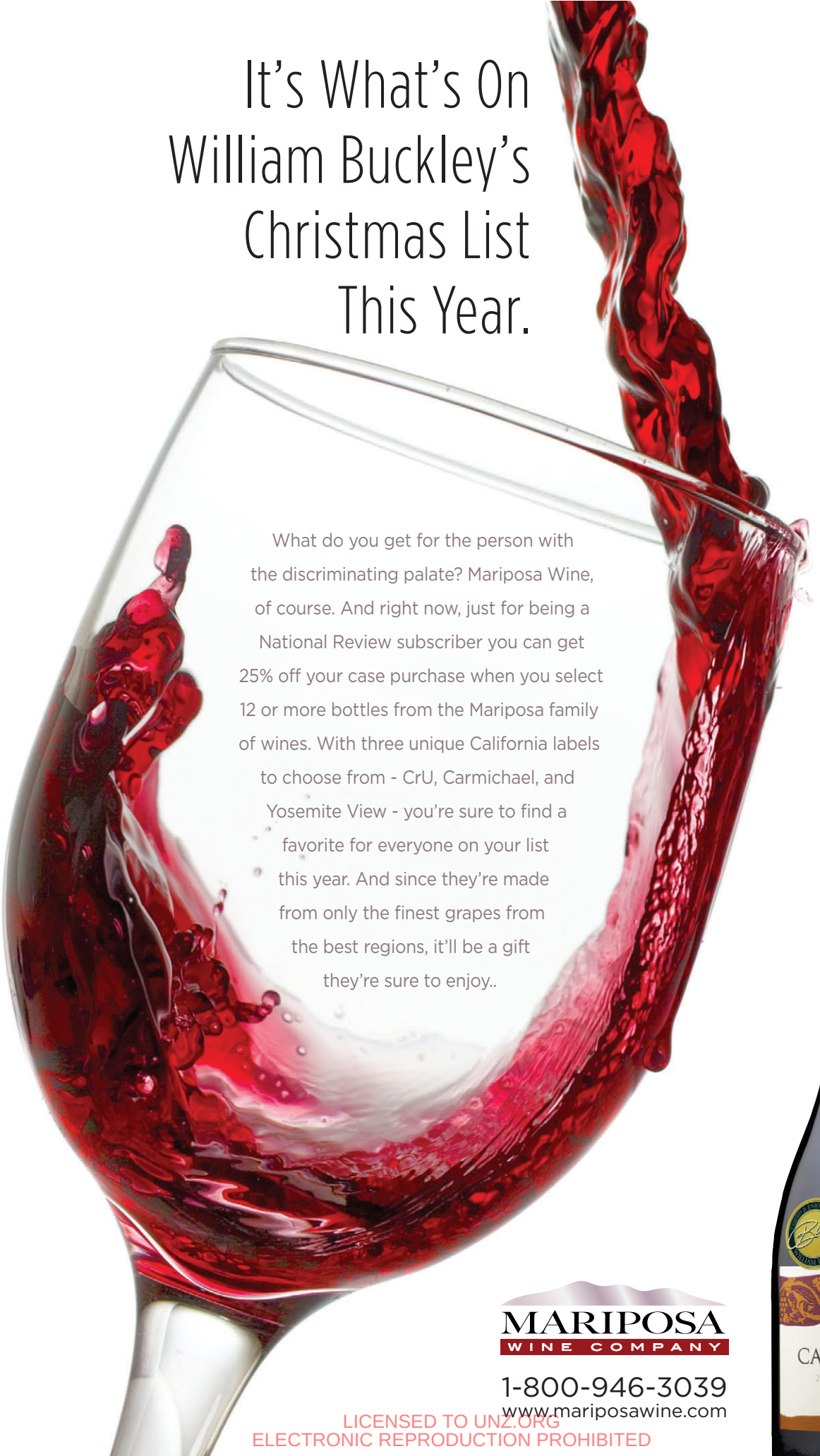
It's What's On William Buckley's Christmas List This Year.



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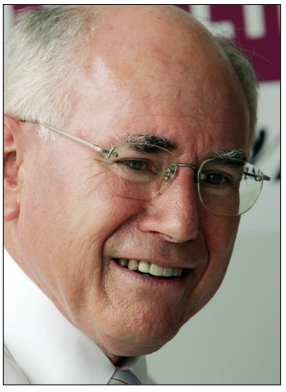
THE WEEK...

over the entirety of the Gaza Strip even as its influence grows in the West Bank. It's doubtful that he speaks for a majority of Palestinians, who after all gave Hamas a parliamentary majority in January 2006. Hamas's position continues to be that the Jews must be driven into the sea. It will use Annapolis as an occasion to present Abbas as a traitor and itself as the true representative of Palestinian aspirations. If the fruits of Annapolis are handshakes and empty words, it will have been merely silly. If its aftermath brings us instead an empowered Hamas and increased sympathy for the anti-Israeli, anti-American worldview that prevails from Tehran to the Levant, silliness will seem a luxury.



■ The Aussies wanted a change, and out went John Howard. For America the change is tinged with regret: Howard was an unusually generous and outspoken ally. But among the many Australian institutions transformed by Howard is the Labor party that defeated him. It has shed its earlier anti-Americanism, and the new prime minister—Kevin Rudd—is himself firmly pro-American. Iraq was not an important issue in the campaign, and even Rudd's promise to withdraw combat troops beginning in 2008 is studiously moderate. True, he will need to strengthen his grip on the party if it is to remain moderate, but for now the election should do little to weaken ties between Canberra and Washington. As for Howard, he leaves office a widely respected symbol of commonsense conservatism, and an admired statesman in the English-speaking world. Wherever the coming years take him, he will go as arguably the most accomplished prime minister in Australian history. Well done.

■ Garry Kasparov heads Other Russia, a party contesting parliamentary elections on December 2. As a chess champion, he must know that he and his party are a small piece on the board. But how courageous! They had permission to hold a rally in Moscow. Police outnumbered demonstrators by something like ten to one. Police then decided that the rally had become a march—surely a fine line to draw—and so arrested Kasparov, and next day at another rally in St. Petersburg arrested about 200 others. This is the second arrest this year for Kasparov. Kremlin officials say glibly that these activists are a mixed bag of marginal politicians with little public support. At the same time, they accuse them of destabilizing Russia. The contradiction is glaring: Marginals can't do anything of the kind. Putin the Terrible is evidently also Putin the Fearful.

■ Strikes of trains, the subway, and air-traffic control brought France to a standstill for almost two weeks. A third of the 5 million state-sector workers are still apparently on strike, and so are students and others. In a bravura performance, President Nicolas Sarkozy turned his back on the chaos, to visit China and sign major deals for a French company to provide nuclear energy. He had sensed that the public approved of his proposed reforms to remove unaffordable trade-union privileges, and so modernize the economy. So it proves. The railway workers are returning to work rather apologetically, but as Sarkozy wins on that front he is losing on another. Close to Paris, in a township of housing blocks for the poor, a police patrol crashed into two African teenagers on a motorbike, killing them both. Riots erupted immediately. More than a hundred police officers were hurt, one of them seriously beaten with an iron bar. Scores of cars were set on fire, and some buildings torched. Two years ago, a similar incident spread violence for weeks over the whole country. Strikers are far less of a long-term worry to France than alienated and angry young immigrants.

■ Talleyrand, the archetypal diplomat, was said to be able to keep an expressionless face while being kicked in the backside. Spain's King Juan Carlos flunks that test. At an Ibero-American summit in Chile, Venezuela's left-wing strongman, Hugo Chávez, denounced Spain's last prime minister, José María Aznar, as a "fascist." Aznar's successor, José Luis Zapatero, gravely admonished Chávez to be more respectful, but the Venezuelan continued to bluster. Whereupon the king asked Chávez, "Why don't you shut up?" The query has become a ring tone on Spanish cellphones. Juan Carlos famously went on Spanish television in 1981 to condemn an attempted right-wing military coup. He should leave diplomacy to others, as the Spanish constitution prescribes, but he has pretty good instincts where uniformed thugs are concerned.

■ The first line of an AP report tells the story: "The United Nations has expressed regret that undercover Cuban officials attended a U.N. news conference on human rights, where they sought information on a French journalist asking critical questions about Fidel Castro's regime." The journalist was questioning a U.N. envoy to Cuba, Jean Ziegler. Ziegler is a Swiss sociology professor, and a close friend of the Castro regime. That is a scandal unto itself. In any event, government officials are not supposed to attend U.N. news conferences, except under special circumstances. But Cuban officials do not feel bound by such rules, and neither do Sudanese officials, or agents of other dictatorships. When the French journalist started asking questions that would displease *El Jefe*, the Cuban officials started asking questions of their own: "Who is this person, where is the miscreant employed?" etc. Back home, Cuban officials do terrible things to independent journalists: arrest them, jail them, torture them—worse. But even when abroad, they bully—at a minimum. No independent thought or inquiry can be permitted. This ought to concern and energize Free World journalists at large. That it does not is yet another scandal, maybe the worst of all.

■ Last year, a 19-year-old Saudi woman met a former boyfriend in a car to ask him to return pictures, since she was about to marry someone else. The couple was set upon by seven men, who gang-raped them 14 times. Wait, it gets worse. The rapists were given sentences of up to five years and a thousand lashes.

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The Week...

But the woman was sentenced to 90 lashes, since she had met with a man not in her family. Wait, it gets even worse. Her case was appealed—whereupon her sentence was increased to 200 lashes, since her lawyer had spoken to the media (his license was suspended). The Muslim world is different from ours, but these grotesque measures do not represent the ancient customs of Araby or Islam. They are the strictures of the Wahhabi creed, imposed by autocracy and supported by oil wealth. The fact that the matter has been publicized is the one slim sign of hope, though reformation, to say nothing of enlightenment, is still a long way off.

■ Bernard Lewis and Fouad Ajami are two of the most distinguished Orientalists not just in this country but in the world. True scholars, they think that all is far from well in the Arab and Muslim world, and are not afraid to say so. Together with an eminent council, they have jointly founded the Association for the Study of the Middle East and Africa, otherwise ASMEA. But is there not already the Middle East Studies Association, or MESA, the learned body representing academics in the field? Yes, and that's the trouble. MESA long ago surrendered to the late Edward Said and his line of thinking that the West is to blame for everything that Muslims suffer from. More than just a well-funded pro-Muslim lobby, MESA has been stifling independent opinion. On its website, MESA complains that Middle East scholars and programs are perceived as "anti-American, unpatriotic, disloyal, anti-Semitic, or are excessively sympathetic toward Arabs or Muslims." Well, not all Middle East scholars. But you couldn't express better what MESA is, what it does, and why it has to be countered. Said and his disciples have particularly misrepresented and traduced both Lewis and Ajami. ASMEA is a blow for a fresh start, for freedom of speech and inquiry in the proper tradition of the academy.

■ The American president has many perks, including the handing out of Medals of Freedom—for an article on that subject, see page 24 ("A Tasty Presidential Perk," by Jay Nordlinger). A president also hands out Humanities Medals. And, like the

Tribbulations

For my money, the best of all the original *Star Trek* episodes was "The Trouble with Tribbles." In that epic show, Lieutenant Uhura brings a delightful little ball of fur called a "tribble" back to the USS *Enterprise*. The tribbles purr and cuddle, and the crew of the *Enterprise* fall in love. There is only one problem. The creatures, as Dr. McCoy notices halfway through the show, are "born pregnant." If you let something double repeatedly, then the numbers get large very quickly. Near the end of the show, the *Enterprise* is stuffed with millions of tribbles.

If you want to understand the economics of health spending, then you need to think tribbles. Spending on health care takes up about double the share of GDP that it took 30 years ago. According to the latest projections from the Congressional Budget Office, that spending will continue to grow at a remarkable pace, taking up half of GDP by 2082. While that happens, spending by Medicare and Medicaid will climb from where it is today, about 4 percent of GDP, to almost 20 percent. At that point, Medicare and Medicaid will demand about the same share of GDP that the entire federal government takes today.

For some time, the story that has defined the popular discussion of this problem is that the phenomenon is inevitable given the "aging of the baby boomers." A fascinating recent report by the CBO exposes this view as an urban myth. In that report, the staff breaks the increase down between two factors, demographics and excess cost growth. It finds, as can be seen in the accompanying chart, that excess cost growth is the real culprit driving up long-term spending. The aging of the baby boomers is not irrelevant, but it is a much smaller factor.

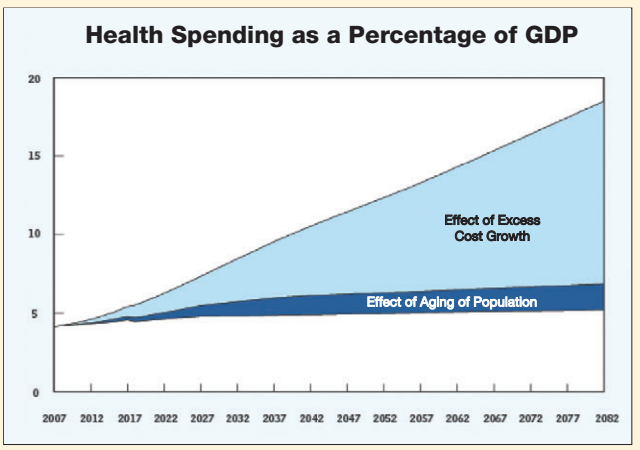
The dark blue shaded region in the chart shows the projected increase in health spending that would occur if, as the population aged, we let spending on a person of a given age grow only with GDP. Old patients cost more than young patients, and as we become older on average we spend more on health. But this is a tiny bit of the problem, lifting Medicare and Medicaid spending as a share of GDP only a couple of percentage points between now and 2082.

The second line shows what happens when we allow per capita health-care costs to grow faster than GDP, as they have for a long time. Clearly, most of the problem is attributable to the high and increasing cost of health care.

This is good news. We cannot stop aging, but we might be able to constrain cost growth. We might, for example, cut costs by increasing the share of health expenses that are borne by consumers through out-of-pocket expenditures, or by relying more heavily on cost-effective treatments.

These steps might be heavy political lifts, but the new CBO report shows that thinking of sensible health reforms is "no tribble at all."

—KEVIN A. HASSETT



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The exhibition back affords a view of the 27 jeweled movement and accurate inner works.

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The Week...

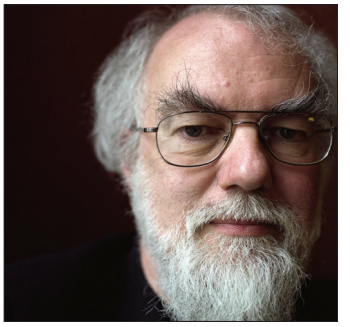
Medals of Freedom, these reflect his values, beliefs, and tastes. President Clinton gave Humanities Medals to the Democratic-party intelligentsia: Arthur Schlesinger, Doris Kearns Goodwin, Taylor Branch, Garrison Keillor, Studs Terkel, Bill Moyers . . . (Sounds like the lineup for PBS.) President Bush has gone another way: Hilton Kramer, Shelby Steele, Harvey Mansfield, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Thomas Sowell, Midge Decter . . . And just recently—mid-November—Bush conferred medals on another fine group: including National Review's own, Victor Davis Hanson, and Richard Pipes, the great historian of Russia, leading anti-Communist, and all-around intellectual. We can rejoice when the meritorious are recognized. And Democrats need not be too downcast: They will have their turn, again, soon enough. (But not too soon, we hope.)

■ Benjamin Hooks, former executive director of the NAACP, received the Medal of Freedom from President Bush. After the ceremony, the 82-year-old lawyer and minister spoke with a reporter from the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*. "We bought the books; [young people] won't read them. We open the libraries; they won't use them. . . . When I get on that subject I do get fairly emotional because I remember how hard we fought to use the library. Now it's open and so many young people don't go." There is a world of pathos in those remarks. Rights are necessary, but also preliminary. The civil-rights movement fought great battles, and a great many sham battles. Did the latter distract black people from seizing their opportunities? It is too much to ask that question of Benjamin Hooks at the end of his life, but black, and non-black, Americans should ask it of themselves.

■ The Earl of Kent in *Lear* was famously ill-disposed toward the letter "z": "Thou whoreson zed, thou unnecessary letter . . ." We are beginning to feel the same about "n," at least in initial positions. What everyone calls "the n-word" has now fallen so far from favor, the utterance of it trembles on the edge of criminality. Then there was the fuss about "niggardly," a fine old English word (first occurrence 1571) that no one now dares use. "Noose" seems to be headed the same way. A high-school student in Kansas City, Mo., one Travis Grigsby, recently got a ten-day suspension for using the word "noose" in mixed company. Tying up the equipment after band practice, a classmate asked Travis if he knew how to tie a noose, and Travis said he did. A black classmate complained, and the furies descended. Perhaps we should just drop the letter "n" from the alphabet altogether to save ourselves further trouble.

■ Since the remotest Paleolithic Era, human beings have huddled for warmth around the family hearth. Well, that's enough of that, says San Francisco's Bay Area Air Quality Management District, which plans public hearings to determine the fate of the family hearth. A draft proposal ahead of the meetings suggests that firewood be sold with a health-warning sticker ("Wood smoke contains harmful particulate matter . . .") and be tested "to ensure it meets air-quality regulations for moisture content . . . for cleaner burning." On cold, windless days, says the BAAQMD, they may ban wood burning altogether. Well, well, the Nanny State marches on. At least there will be no more of those squirm-inducing scenes featuring bearskin rugs and fireplaces in romantic movies.

■ In 1995, a questioner said to Carole Simpson, then an anchor at ABC News, "The liberal bias of your network is obvious." Simpson was offended. "I disagree wholeheartedly," she said, calling the accusation "mean-spiritedness . . . directed at the media." These days, Simpson is a journalism professor (sigh) at Emerson College, and she popped back into the news recently when she endorsed Hillary Clinton for president. Thinking better of her endorsement, Simpson told the *Boston Globe* she had made a mistake and offered to resign. The tactical mistake was being candid about her views; the moral mistake was pretending she didn't have them.



■ Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury, gave an interview to a British Muslim magazine. He criticized American conduct in Iraq, which he said is based on "the assumption that a quick burst of violent action will somehow clear the decks and that you can move on and other people will put things back together." Reports of our withdrawal are greatly exaggerated. Our surge of troops has shown some success in repairing a damaged Iraq. Say this for the archbishop: He isn't exactly like the thoughtless lefties whom he is closely parroting—he's about a month behind.

■ Pope Benedict XVI has called for "continuity with tradition" in church music, referring specifically to St. Gregory the Great, the patron of Gregorian chant. Talk about bucking trends: The sexual revolution and the Islamification of Europe are as nothing to the enfeeblement of modern religious music. Vatican II was a comprehensive aesthetic disaster. Even the Protestant churches, the last home of worshippers who could carry a tune, have abandoned their stirring hymns for upbeat crapola. An intelligent patron can accomplish a lot, even if he only curates. Religious art must be mindful of its place: Plenty of people with bad taste will go to heaven, and where all is harmony, their former limitations will fall away. In the meantime, they should not be leading the choir.

■ On a recent evening of the New York Philharmonic, Glazunov's Violin Concerto was on the program. And the program notes told us something interesting. Glazunov was a Russian who lived from 1865 to 1936—and, in 1905, he assumed the post of director of the St. Petersburg Conservatory. "He would prove to be a gifted and hard-working administrator," said our program notes, "raising the conservatory's academic standards, founding its student orchestra, and even helping the establishment weather the new demands of Soviet society following the October Revolution of 1918." Forget the slip on the

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HEALTHNEWS

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Results not typical.

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—Maggie R.

Results not typical.

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The Week...

year. How about "weather the new demands of Soviet society"? Is that not the loveliest, most gingerly phrase you've ever heard? Try it in a different context: ". . . weather the new demands of German society following . . ." The refusal to face the brute realities of the Soviet Union—even now, 16 years after the dissolution of that monstrosity—is one of the strangest and most vexing phenomena around.

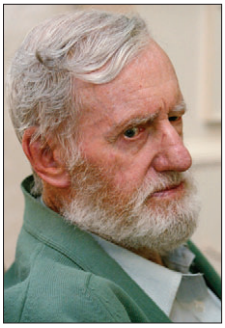
■ If it's strict immigration policies you're looking for, try New Zealand. Mr. Richie Trezise of Wales, a specialist in the rare art of undersea cable maintenance, was recruited by a firm in New Zealand seeking just those skills. He hit a snag with the immigration authorities, however. Mr. Trezise was . . . portly. Too much so for the New Zealanders, who accept immigrants only of "an acceptable standard of health." One index of acceptability is an applicant's Body Mass Index—weight in kilograms divided by square of height in meters. A BMI over 25 means you're overweight. Mr. Trezise's BMI was 42. He hit the gym, and was at last allowed to take up his job. His wife, however, who is also BMI-challenged, is still stuck metaphorically in New Zealand's front door, which means, literally, back home in Wales. If she cannot shape up—that is, down—Mr. Trezise will have to abandon either his new life or his fat wife. Look, you may think this is a strange immigration policy, but at least New Zealand *has* an immigration policy.

■ Burned bones unearthed in July in a field near Yekaterinburg, Russia, have been identified by forensics experts as the remains of Alexei and Maria, children of Czar Nicholas II. All eleven members of the former imperial family and its staff, murdered by the Bolsheviks 90 years ago, have now been accounted for (the remains of the other nine were found in a mineshaft in 1991). In *The Russian Revolution*, historian Richard Pipes wrote that eleven is a small number compared with the hecatombs that would follow. Yet he found the crime both odious and prophetic. Pipes quoted Trotsky, who argued that the execution of the czar's family "was needed" to show "our own ranks . . . that there was no retreating." Pipes comments: "When a government arrogates to itself the power to kill people, not because of what they had done or even might do, but because their death is 'needed,' we are entering an entirely new moral realm." The killings "carried mankind for the first time across the threshold of deliberate genocide." Peace to the victims.

■ Toni Vernelli of Somerset, England, had herself sterilized at age 27 to reduce her carbon footprint. Now aged 35, Toni, who works for—what else?—an environmental charity, tells us that she and her first husband "both passionately wanted to save the planet—not produce a new life which would only add to the problem." The chap obligingly had a vasectomy, but the marriage fell apart anyway. Our Toni then, to her horror, got pregnant by a boyfriend. An abortion ("termination" in Toni-speak) and the sterilization followed. Now settled with Hubby No. 2, Toni declares: "We have a much nicer lifestyle as a result of not having children. . . . Every year, we also take a nice holiday—we've just come back from South Africa. We feel we can have one long-haul flight a year, as we are vegan and childless, thereby greatly reducing our carbon footprint and combating overpopulation." So there you have it: The future of the West is on holiday.

■ Speech codes for Santa Claus? Down in Sydney, Australia, a firm that trains and supplies department-store Santas has instructed trainees that the traditional "Ho! Ho! Ho!" could be "derogatory to women." Aspiring Santas, says the firm, should greet kiddies with a more sensitive "Ha! Ha! Ha!" Setting aside our dismay at learning that the foul hip-hop contagion has spread as far as the Antipodes, we wonder what other corrections to Santa's image will soon be required. Does his being male impact the self-esteem of female supplicants? Does his *embonpoint* encourage child obesity? What exactly is that sled's carbon footprint? For the enforcers of virtue, there is always more work to be done.

■ The universe, said J. B. S. Haldane, is not only queerer than we suppose, but queerer than we *can* suppose. One of the queerest things about it is that its properties at the very largest scales—galactic superclusters—are very intimately related to those at the very smallest—subatomic particles and the teeny "strings" of which they may (or may not) be composed. The big and the small are related because at the earliest point in its history of which we have any understanding, the substance of the universe was crammed together at such inconceivably great density, the "quantum effects" that govern the micro-world were dominant everywhere. Those effects then determined the subsequent history of everything . . . sort of, since there are knotty conundrums hidden in that word "determined," the knottiest of them involving how the act of observing an event affects the event's consequences. Now a team of cosmologists has suggested that our observation of dark energy in 1998 may have shortened the life of the universe; or rather, that, of the many states the universe existed in, simultaneously, prior to 1998, our observations left us stuck with just one—a short-lived one. And you were worried about global warming?



HOWARD BURDITT/REUTERS

■ Ian Smith, who died, age 88, was suited by birth and temperament to maintain the British Empire in Africa. Born in what was then Rhodesia in 1919, he served gallantly with the RAF in World War II (a crash permanently disfigured his face). After the war, he bought a cattle ranch and entered parliament. Britain was shedding its empire, however, to black successor states, which Smith could not accept. In 1965, as prime minister, he declared independence in order to maintain white power, and arrested, then fought, black nationalists. Pressured by his South African allies, he finally accepted an expanded franchise which in 1979 replaced him with a black Methodist bishop. But this did not satisfy world opinion. A 1980 election overseen by Britain put guerrilla leader Robert Mugabe in power, where he remains today. Smith rejected majority rule; Mugabe's incompetence and crimes have defamed it. R.I.P.

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The Week...

■ Five years ago, the W. H. Brady Foundation decided to spend down its endowment and issue a handful of major grants in order to have a large impact on our time rather than a watered-down influence on the future. Established by and named after a late Milwaukee industrialist, an early friend of National Review, the foundation was headed by Brady's daughter, Elizabeth Lurie. Among other gifts, it donated $1 million to the Acton Institute, $1 million to the Independent Women's Forum, and $800,000 to the Manhattan Institute. At the American Enterprise Institute, the W. H. Brady Chair currently belongs to Charles Murray, and Brady dollars also have supported the work of Lynne Cheney, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Leon Kass, Michael Novak, Sally Satel, and Christina Hoff Sommers. It's an impressive philanthropic legacy, started by a visionary businessman who died almost 20 years ago and carried on with great fortitude by Lurie, who died on November 21. R.I.P.

AT WAR

Denial

What was it that Hillary Clinton once said about the willing suspension of disbelief? For congressional Democrats, that line has gone from a putdown (of Gen. David Petraeus's testimony before Congress) to a way of life. On Iraq, Democrats now live in a fantasy world. They ignore the surge's success and—after all we have learned over the last year—persist in advocating a drawdown of troops by the end of 2008.

In the Democrats' version of events, mortar and rocket attacks are not at their lowest level in nearly two years, and half the level of October 2006; car bombs and roadside bombs in Baghdad are not down more than 70 percent since June; civilian deaths did not fall below 900 in October, down from nearly 2,000 in January; enemy attacks have not dropped for four straight months; and the number of coalition troops killed in action has not fallen over the same months, to the lowest level since February 2004. The Democrats' Iraq War calendar is perpetually turned to December 2006, when we were manifestly failing and the Baker-Hamilton commission delivered its "consensus" recommendation that combat troops be pulled out by March 2008.

If we were not already so close to March 2008, Democrats would still be insisting on that deadline. Instead, in their latest (defeated) proposal they wanted to condition war funding on a withdrawal by December 15, 2008. The Baker-Hamilton report was dubious when released, but now its recommendations look patently foolish. Only the application of American combat power in classic counterinsurgency tactics—the very opposite of the thrust of Baker-Hamilton—has brought the recent progress in Iraq.

Some opponents of the war have given up on trying to disprove that there has been progress on the security front. Instead they say the progress was inevitable: The war has burned itself out; everyone is dead (Rep. David Obey's explanation); the Sunnis would have turned against al-Qaeda anyway; etc., etc. This story comes from the same people who said Iraq was absolutely hopeless earlier this year.

It is true that Iraq is complicated and resists easy simplifications, but there is no way we would have seen such progress without the surge. It was the surge that enabled the Sunnis to turn against al-Qaeda across the country. It was the surge that took back cities such as Baquba from the extremists. It was the surge that rooted out al-Qaeda from staging areas around Baghdad. It was the surge that interposed our troops between warring factions in Baghdad and tamped down the civil war. It was the surge that made the population feel secure enough to begin giving us more tips about IEDs and weapon caches.

The Democrats' Iraq War calendar is perpetually turned to December 2006, when we were manifestly failing.

This has been our troops' bloodiest year in Iraq. They have bought the remarkable improvements of the last several months with life and limb. To deny their sacrifice and their achievement because it does not fit a partisan narrative is shameful.

Of course, Iraq is still in a parlous state. Violence remains too high, and the gains we have made could be reversed unless, among other things, the central government integrates Sunni security volunteers into the official police force. Given all the disasters that have befallen Iraq since the invasion, supporters of the war should be wary of triumphalism. And the public is understandably skeptical of good news from Iraq when conservatives have hailed so many false dawns. But holding the security gains we have made is the precondition of achieving a reasonable result in Iraq, and it will not happen without a substantial American troop presence. The additional troops from the surge will begin coming home soon, but it is only prudent to stay at pre-surge levels through 2008.

Meanwhile, Democrats occupy their own private reality on the war. As the political tide in Congress has ebbed away from them over the last year, their Iraq proposals have gone from dangerous, to contemptible, to—now—simply pathetic.

SCIENCE

Stem-Cell Success

Scientists in the United States and Japan have made an enormous advance in stem-cell research. They have managed to turn regular human skin cells into the equivalent of embryonic stem cells—achieving what they've sought until now through the destruction of embryos, but without the need to use embryos, to use cloning, or to use eggs.

It is, to begin with, an extraordinary achievement with immense scientific potential. The new technique is much easier and cheaper than the use of embryos in research, and will likely bring about an explosion of new work on pluripotent stem cells and their applications. (Pluripotent stem cells can be coaxed into becoming many other types of cells.)

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"Readers of this book will see that Bill Clark not only served Ronald Reagan as counsel, close advisor, and friend, but at times as a form of conscience. I learned more about my dad in this biography than probably any other. *The Judge* is not only informative and eye-opening but a riveting read. I couldn't put it down."

— **MICHAEL REAGAN,**
President Ronald Reagan's son

THE JUDGE

WILLIAM P. CLARK

RONALD REAGAN'S TOP HAND

THIS IS THE most important biographical record of the Reagan years: it is the story of Ronald Reagan's indispensable man, confidant, and single most important advisor: William P. Clark, known to many as simply The Judge.

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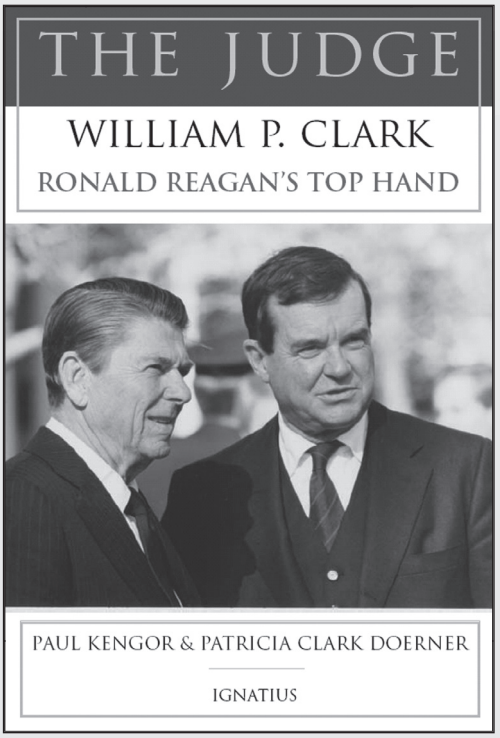
With Reagan, Clark accomplished many things, but none more profound than the track they laid to undermine Soviet communism, to win the Cold War. As this book shows, Ronald Reagan and Bill Clark, two ranchers, a President and his top hand, truly changed history. At long last, over two decades after that significant accomplishment, Bill Clark shares the details of that extraordinary effort, many of which—as readers of this book will learn—have never before been reported. ***Includes 32 pages of photos, in black and white and color.***



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"It's now more than time that Bill Clark get full recognition for all that he did with and for Ronald Reagan." — CASPER "CAP" WEINBERGER, Former Secretary of Defense

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The Week...

But the breakthrough is also a powerful vindication of the premise behind much of the opposition to the destruction of embryos for research this past decade: the conviction that scientific advance need not require, and should not compel, the abandonment of ethical principles, and especially the principle of human equality that should cause us to cherish and guard every human life, from beginning to end.

In an effort to cause the country to abandon this conviction, some advocates of the research, including nearly every prominent Democrat in Congress, have made reckless and irresponsible promises, offered false hope to the suffering, depicted their opponents as heartless enemies of science, and exploited sick people for crass political gain.

Meanwhile, in an effort to defend that conviction, President Bush and most congressional Republicans have stood up to all that pressure, and have pursued an approach that seeks to advance science while also insisting on ethics. Contrary to the common myth, Bush never "banned" stem-cell research, or even federal funding for it. Instead, he permitted such funding, for the first time, in a way that could help basic science advance while not encouraging the ongoing destruction of human embryos. He acknowledged the importance of the science, acknowledged the importance of the ethics, and sought to champion both.

The new methods of stem-cell research are clearly superior to using whatever happens to be left at the clinic.

For several years now, the president has also clearly understood that the potential for scientific alternatives to the destruction of embryos could offer a powerful means to that end. Helped along by a variety of experts who saw that promise—perhaps most notably William Hurlbut of Stanford University, who is a member of Bush's bioethics council—he came to recognize that stem-cell science could solve the ethical quandary stem-cell science had created. As early as 2005, Bush was speaking about "ethical ways of getting the same kind of cells now taken from embryos without violating human life or dignity." And after trying unsuccessfully to get the Congress to support such new avenues of research, he acted on his own through an executive order this summer.

The researchers who achieved the new advance were not pro-lifers. They did not think it was unethical to destroy human embryos for research. But they did think there were scientific advantages to getting pluripotent cells without the need for embryos; and they knew that there would be political and social advantages, too. By standing firm on principle, President Bush and many other pro-lifers made that latter point clear, and this surely played a part in getting us to what seems increasingly likely to be the end of the stem-cell debate. Certainly there is no longer a case for the legislation that Congress has twice passed, authorizing federal funding for stem-cell research using embryos taken from fertility clinics. The new methods of research, which can create stem cells that match the genotypes of patients, are clearly superior to using whatever happens to be left at the clinic.

As it fades, the debate should leave us with a crucial lesson for what will certainly be many ethical quandaries to come as biotechnology advances: The answer to unethical science is not to give up on ethics, but rather to pursue ethical science.

HISTORY

Reagan and Race, Again

A DEBATE has broken out among the columnists for the *New York Times*, and both its style and its subject are strange. The participants—Bob Herbert, Paul Krugman, and David Brooks—refuse to mention one another, perhaps bowing to some house rule. At issue: a campaign stop that Ronald Reagan made in 1980, just after being nominated. He spoke in Mississippi, then a swing state, near the site where three civil-rights workers had been murdered in 1964, and in the course of talking about education he said, "I believe in states' rights."

For Herbert and Krugman, the remark is Exhibit A for the case that the Republican ascendancy of the last few decades was built on white racism. Additional evidence is provided by the Reagan administration's opposition to sanctions on South Africa and various civil-rights bills.

The offending remark was a tiny portion of Reagan's speech. Afterward, Reagan traveled to tell black audiences about his urban agenda, which hardly suggests he was trying to portray himself as the anti-black candidate.

But it cannot be denied that racist whites left the Democrats for the Republicans, and that the basic civil-rights guarantees enacted in the 1960s contributed to their switch. No political party can make sure that all of its members are there for the right reasons. It is likely that racism played a larger role in keeping southern whites in the Democratic coalition than in attracting them out of it. These voters were conservative on most issues, but had stayed with the less-conservative party because it supported segregation. On most of the issues that liberals use to indict Reagan, he was right, and on all of them he had a reasonable case. He should not have shied away from making that case for fear of who might be listening.

It is not as though Reagan's critics, now or then, would have let up if he had talked about "decentralization" or "federalism" or "opposition to Washington bureaucrats" instead of "states' rights." The criticism only appears to concern Republicans' tactics. Its point is to stigmatize conservatism itself as racist, or at least racially insensitive. Liberalism carried this trope to the point of inhibiting its adherents from condemning even black criminals. By 1992, a Democratic presidential candidate could seem like a breath of fresh air for saying that it was not a good idea to encourage black-on-white killings. (That was the substance of Bill Clinton's famous rebuke of Sister Souljah.)

Whites who were not racist, but feared crime and opposed racial preferences, did not take kindly to being treated as racists. If liberal columnists want to divine the reasons Republicans did so well for so long, perhaps they should ponder that lesson.

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Bill Simon Jr.

■ 2008 ■

Team Rudy

A brainy and ready brain trust

JOHN J. MILLER

As Bill Simon Jr. prepared to run for governor of California, he sought the advice of his old boss, Rudy Giuliani. They agreed to have breakfast at The Peninsula, a ritzy hotel in Manhattan. The date was September 11, 2001.

About 45 minutes into their meal, a member of Giuliani's detail handed the mayor a cellphone. "There was a brief conversation," recalls Simon. When it was over, Giuliani said that there had been some kind of incident involving a plane at the World Trade Center. "I've got to go," he said.

Giuliani went on to become "America's mayor," *Time*'s "Person of the Year," and all the rest. Simon captured his state's GOP nomination but lost the general election in 2002. Now these two have teamed up again, only this time Giuliani is seeking Simon's help. As policy director of the Giuliani presidential campaign, Simon is the head of what might be called Giuliani's brain trust—a network of more than 150 policy experts who counsel the Republican frontrunner on everything from North Korea to health care. The ranks of a Giuliani administration would draw heavily from this crowd, and Simon himself could be in line for a big job.

For the 56-year-old Simon, it might mean following in the footsteps of his father, William E. Simon, who was secretary of the treasury under Presidents Nixon and Ford. The senior Simon was known not only for his horn-rimmed glasses but also for a hard-charging conservatism that blended his famously short temper with a deep commitment to free-market principles. After leaving government, he served as president of the John M. Olin Foundation, a right-leaning philanthropy, until his death in 2000.

Around the time the Olin Foundation was turning into a major underwriter of the conservative intelligentsia, Simon's oldest son—"Billy" to intimates—was graduating from Boston College Law School. A couple of years later, he became a federal prosecutor under Giuliani, who was then U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York. "Some accounts make it sound like I was his right-hand man," says Simon. "But I was a rookie assistant." Between 1985 and 1988, Simon and Giuliani nevertheless got to know each other. They stayed in touch even after Simon left to become his father's business partner and Giuliani pursued a political career.

Last year, when it became obvious that Giuliani was thinking about the White House, Simon offered to help. "I knew his campaign would need a policy infrastructure," he says. "I asked him what I could do." Before long, Simon arranged for Giuliani to meet with Hoover Institution scholars at the Pacific Union Club in San Francisco on August 18, 2006. Attendees included Hoover director John Raisian, economics guru Michael Boskin, and the late Milton Friedman. "Everyone thought Giuliani was smart and quick," says Martin Anderson, who was there. He signed on with the campaign, as did several other Hooverites, including Boskin, who is now its chief economics adviser.

As summer turned to fall, Simon drafted memos to Giuliani and asked James Piereson, the longtime executive director of the Olin Foundation, to lend a hand. Giuliani encouraged them to work with John Avlon, who was chief speechwriter for the mayor during his second term. They were soon joined by Stephen Goldsmith, the former Republican mayor of Indianapolis who had advised President Bush on domestic policy during the 2000 race. In Giuliani's circle, this group was nicknamed the Four Horsemen. "You'd think there's a more elite-sounding phrase for us," laughs Goldsmith. Yet nobody calls them the Quartet of Wonkdom.

Their immediate priority was to schedule briefings. Giuliani wanted the first set to focus on Iraq, and so they did, during the first week of January 2007. "He asked for a variety of perspectives and that's what we gave him," says Simon. "From a center-right viewpoint, we included both supporters and critics of the president's strategy." Neoconservative hawk Norman Podhoretz met with Giuliani in person. Republican war skeptic Richard Haass of the Council on Foreign Relations paid his own visit. Retired Marine general Anthony Zinni, who opposed the invasion, participated on speakerphone. American Enterprise Institute scholar Frederick Kagan and former Army general Jack Keane argued for the troop surge.

DARREN GYGI

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This wasn't the first time Giuliani had reached out to policy intellectuals. During the 1990s, he developed a close relationship with the Manhattan Institute, a free-market outfit. Between Giuliani's mayoral defeat in 1989 and his first victory in 1993, he began reading the institute's *City Journal* and took notes at a conference on urban issues. Major themes in both venues included welfare reform and the "broken windows" theory of crime control. As mayor, Giuliani became a champion of both. "He borrowed a lot of our ideas," says Larry Mone, president of the Manhattan Institute. On June 21, 1999, the mayor declared it "Manhattan Institute for Policy Research Day" in New York City.

Since the Iraq briefings, Giuliani has attended sessions on subjects ranging from energy to taxes. Along the way, he has assembled a crew of conservative and libertarian advisers: Clint Bolick on education, Louis Freeh on homeland security, Charles Hill on foreign policy, Ted Olson on judges, and Sally Pipes on health care. "We're like a mini-think tank," says Simon. The campaign also has sought advice from experts who haven't publicly endorsed Giuliani. "I've spoken with him and helped organize some briefings," says former U.N. ambassador John Bolton, now of AEI. "It was a pleasure to do it for him, but we would do it for any presidential candidate, including Hillary if she ever asked."

Giuliani's political vision is spelled out most concisely in the "12 Commitments," a package of promises on how he would govern. The Four Horsemen look for opportunities for Giuliani to put flesh on the bones of this campaign centerpiece. *Foreign Affairs* recently carried a 6,000-word article by Giuliani—a summary of how he views the world. "He knows his own mind and has a clear vision," says Simon. "We help fill in some details and provide some facts." An idea in one area can affect another, and so the campaign's policy machinery churns nonstop. In May, at a speech at the Citadel, Giuliani proposed adding ten new combat brigades to the Army—but not before his economics advisers had calculated the cost. "We have to figure out what it means for our budget and tax plans," says Piereson. "If we don't, our opponents will."

One of the pledges in the 12 Commitments involves abortion. It speaks of "reasonable restrictions"—but, conspicuously for a GOP candidate, it isn't a pro-life plank. "He's pro-choice," says Simon, who is himself a pro-life Catholic. Does it discomfort Simon to work for a man who supports abortion rights? The question bothers him. "My faith is very important to me and I believe the mayor is a man of faith," he says, in carefully measured words. "Even within the abortion context we agree on partial-birth abortion, parental notification, and judges."

If Giuliani is ever to gain even grudging support from pro-lifers, he'll have to do it through judges. Many pro-lifers understand that the next two or three Supreme Court appointees may determine the future of *Roe* v. *Wade*, either to cement its place in American jurisprudence or to weaken it fatally. At a speech on November 16 at the national convention of the Federalist Society, Giuliani courted some of conservatism's finest legal minds. He promised to nominate justices similar to John Roberts, Samuel Alito, Antonin Scalia, and Clarence Thomas. "That would be my model," he said. The pro-life case for a pro-choice candidate then becomes a prudential one: Better to win with Giuliani and this commitment on judges than to lose with Mitt Romney or someone else.

These are high-flying judicial and political questions, but the Giuliani policy team also participates in the daily give-and-take of a grinding campaign. At the Republican presidential debate on October 9, Romney attacked Giuliani for going to court over the line-item veto in 1997. Right away, Giuliani's campaign put out a statement from Olson, defending his man. The dispute spilled into the next day, with Romney adviser Douglas Kmiec, a Pepperdine law professor, attacking Giuliani in piece for National Review Online. Within hours, Steven Calabresi, a Northwestern law professor from the Giuliani camp, posted a rebuttal. "We have policy people standing by, ready to respond to anything at a moment's notice," says Avlon.

The wide-open GOP nomination probably won't hinge on decade-old disputes about the line-item veto. Yet it may come down to some other piece of policy minutiae. If that happens, the result will flow from the statements and positions of the candidates themselves. And these, of course, will have been influenced and shaped by experts like the ones Bill Simon Jr. has recruited for Rudy Giuliani. **NR**

■ **2008 II**

The Tradition of Ron Paul

Defeated in the Cold War, it is back in this current war

JONAH GOLDBERG

"War is the health of the state," proclaimed Randolph Bourne, one of the comparatively few progressive intellectuals not to be seduced by the siren call of World War I. Bourne himself was but a momentary courier of the warning torch meant to illuminate the threat that standing armies, militarism, and foreign intervention supposedly present to liberty. "Brutus"—the author of the leading essays against ratification of the Constitution (the *Anti-Federalist*, as it were)—warned repeatedly that a permanent military and the strong central government necessary to sustain it were inimical to liberty at home. Thomas Jefferson famously shared similar anxieties.

One irony of the Bush years is the Left's sudden—and convenient—interest in the Founders' intent. It seems no Democrat can refrain from invoking Ben Franklin's hoary maxim that "those who would sacrifice liberty for security deserve neither." Whatever happened to the "living Constitution"? Apparently abortion and gay rights require unlimited elasticity and penumbrae galore, while transnational terrorists seeking nuclear bombs are protected by the Left's conception of "original intent."

But there are more credible Cassandras, and not surprisingly they reside on the right. Bourne was no conservative, but the

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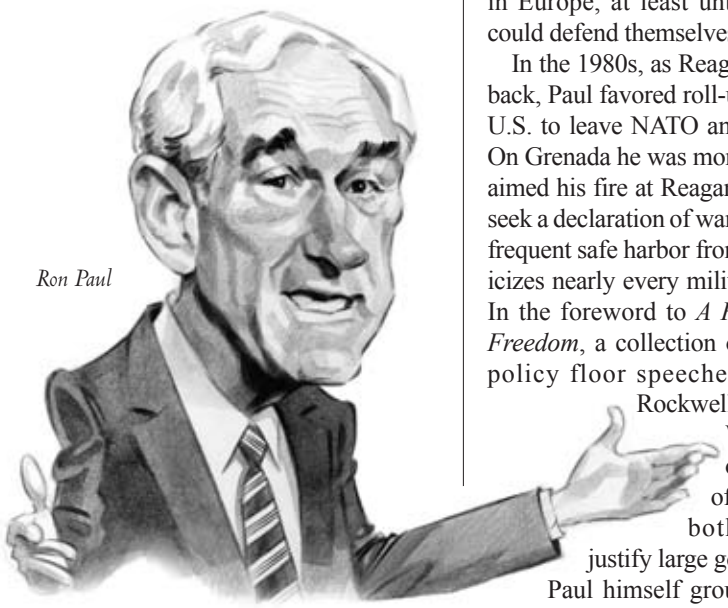
insight that involvement abroad fuels the expansion of the state was central to the formation of the modern conservative and libertarian movements. Albert J. Nock, the elitist, near-anarchist libertarian who influenced William F. Buckley Jr., among others, came of age chronicling how social planners and war planners were capable of switching from one job to the other as quickly as a new sheaf of papers could be placed on their desk.

After the First World War, the bipartisan hostility to "interventionism"—a hostility today called "isolationism"—rested on a faith that government activism abroad, even in the name of liberty, would (must!) encourage liberty-destroying activism at home. Pearl Harbor, an old-fashioned sneak attack, shattered this rough consensus. But when the war ended, some wanted to refashion it. Russell Kirk, for example, wanted the U.S. military demobilized.

Other conservatives saw in the Evil Empire's threat the need for a painful compromise. Everyone on the right agreed that the Soviet Union was the apotheosis of everything detestable about collectivism. But a significant divide emerged about whether it posed an existential threat to America. "The most important issue of the day, it is time to admit it, is survival. Here there is apparently some confusion in the ranks of conservatives, and hard thinking is in order for them," wrote Buckley in an essay for *Commonweal* in 1952. And while he was deeply invested in the warnings of Nock and other anti-statists and non-interventionists (in 1941, at the age of fifteen, WFB had attended an America First rally), he could not turn his back on the present danger. "The thus-far invincible aggressiveness of the Soviet Union does or does not constitute a threat to the security of the United States, and we have got to decide which. If it does, we shall have to rearrange, sensibly, our battle plans; and this means that we have got to accept Big Government for the duration." Three years later, Buckley launched National Review, which dedicated itself to fighting Communism abroad *and*—where sensible—curtailing statism at home. (The subtitle of that 1952 essay read, "Ideally, the Republican Platform should acknowledge a domestic enemy, the State.")

The Buckleyite position came to define mainstream American conservatism (and much of libertarianism) until the fall of the Berlin Wall. But a few rightist intellectuals dissented. The most famous was Murray Rothbard, a brilliant anarchist libertarian who saw in the Cold War a sweeping con job. The "blight of anti-Communism," Rothbard tellingly wrote in the left-wing journal *Ramparts*, paved the way for a takeover of American conservatism by defenders of Truman's "imperialist aggression." The Cold War was merely a convenient justification for statism, the crushing of dissent, and war lust. Churchill, de Gaulle, and Khrushchev were equally "butchers." Truman was the "butcher of Hiroshima and Nagasaki." National Review had a "clerical fascist" tinge, while various hard-Left organs—such as the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy—earned Rothbard's support and membership.



Ron Paul

Ron Paul is perhaps the most famous heir to the Rothbard tradition. He even has a portrait of Rothbard on his wall (that is, according to Wikipedia; Paul's office declined to grant an interview for this piece). Paul claims to be the standard-bearer of a truer, more authentic conservatism. In debates he spins an odd historical interpretation in which the GOP has always succeeded when championing either withdrawal from foreign conflicts (Korea, Vietnam) or non-interventionism. Most analysts, on the other hand, will tell you the GOP's advocacy of a strong defense has been a strength. Still, Paul claims that withdrawal not only from the U.N. (yippee!) but also from NATO, the WTO, NAFTA, and every "entangling alliance" (read: support for Israel, mutual-defense agreements, etc.) is the truly conservative position. When the Republican presidential candidates debated in South Carolina, he invoked Robert Taft's opposition to NATO. Left out of Paul's tale: Taft supported the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, promised "100 percent support for the Chinese National government on Formosa," advocated "occasional extensions . . . into Europe, Asia, and Africa," and favored keeping six divisions in Europe, at least until the Europeans could defend themselves.

In the 1980s, as Reagan supported roll-back, Paul favored roll-up. He wanted the U.S. to leave NATO and abandon Japan. On Grenada he was more nuanced, but he aimed his fire at Reagan's decision not to seek a declaration of war from Congress (a frequent safe harbor from which Paul criticizes nearly every military engagement). In the foreword to *A Foreign Policy of Freedom*, a collection of Paul's foreign-policy floor speeches, Llewellyn H. Rockwell Jr. calls the Cold War and the War on Terror all part of the same "farce"; both were ruses to justify large government.

Paul himself grounds much of his anti-interventionist rhetoric in fiscal conservatism. The whole apparatus of "empire" costs too much; everyone could afford health care without it. Also, he is a foreign-policy moralist who doesn't want blood on his hands. This is an honorable if mistaken objection to non-isolationist foreign policy, which must ultimately lead to the death of someone, more or less at our hands. There has always been a pacifist strain to libertarian domestic policy (government is violence). Why should foreign policy be different? One answer might be: because it *is* different. The international arena simply isn't a liberal polity where concepts such as contracts and property rights apply as they do in, say, Cleveland. To treat the world as just another sphere of liberalism is a category error.

There are other problems with Paulism. First, the case that intervention abroad naturally leads to the curtailment of liberty at home is less ironclad than even most con-

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servatives, never mind libertarians, might think. Manchester liberalism arose in the British Empire. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846. Exactly 100 years later, the National Health Service was born not from empire but from its ashes. In America, women got the vote in the aftermath of World War I, and the Army was integrated by the "butcher of Hiroshima and Nagasaki." The Civil Rights Acts were passed during Vietnam. Ronald Reagan liberalized the economy while increasing spending on defense, and Bill Clinton reinvigorated government with the proceeds from the alleged "peace dividend." Oh, and for the record: Friedrich Hayek and Ludwig von Mises—who reportedly share space with Rothbard on Paul's wall—were subjects of the Hapsburgs.

Similarly, does "empire" really cost too much? Greater efficiencies surely can be found in any enormous bureaucracy, and there's no doubt that various treaty arrangements should be revisited. But, as Walter Russell Mead and Niall Ferguson have argued, maintaining global trade and stability worked to Britain's advantage—and, now, works to ours. Empire's moral costs are also murkier than Paul thinks. Thwarting the Nazis and Communists came at a bloody price, as will, undoubtedly, any sustained effort against bin Ladenism. But let's not concede the moral high ground to those who would not take up such fights.

Finally, is America an empire at all? It certainly isn't in the sense that Rome was. Our foreign garrisons are there by invitation and negotiation; we'll pull them out if asked, as we did in the Philippines. Some scholars argue that America is merely the leader of a "liberal hegemony." Mead and Ferguson say America is a "liberal empire." Whatever the right term, it is slanderous to lump us in with Huns, Nazis, and Communists.

Buckley was right in 1952: Much "hard thinking" was required of conservatives. And it is required of us again. So it's good news that Paul is running. Alas, too many conservatives dismiss him out of hand rather than engage him. The Rothbard-Paul vision was rightly defeated during the Cold War. Now that the Cold War is over, it seems not only fair but wise to give it another hearing—and if it can't be defeated on the merits, it deserves to win. **NR**

■ LATIN AMERICA

Saving Colombia

President Uribe has done much, and needs more help

RICHARD LOWRY

Cartagena, Colombia

THE slums of Via Perimetral, the "Perimeter" around this city, don't make a natural showcase for a congressional delegation. Rows of shacks with corrugated metal roofs line dirt roads. A swampy area right off the Caribbean Sea, it floods frequently and the sewage system leaks. Some roads are inundated with fetid water that half-naked kids pick their way around, in a desperate, tropical echo of Venice.

But President Álvaro Uribe accompanies a U.S. congressional delegation here. He is showcasing not only programs to improve services in Via Perimetral—a predominantly Afro-Colombian area, swollen with displaced persons from the country's guerrilla war—but one of the strengths of his leadership style: a willingness to confront problems.

The foul smell and the drenching humidity assault the visitor. Uribe, however, seems to be in his element, in a light cotton shirt and a traditional Colombian sombrero made from twisted cane. Uribe walks to the barricades where residents are straining to see him. He shakes their hands, working his way down the line one hand over the other until he arrives in a makeshift tent packed with local residents.

They greet him rapturously, and Uribe begins the kind of town-hall meeting he routinely holds around the country. He stands at one microphone and a few yards from him people stand at another. They launch into passionate speeches about the need for better housing, a better sewage system, and better education. Uribe smiles and promises to help. "Here," he says of the residents, "we have the best orators in our history."

Uribe asks Rep. Gregory Meeks, a black Democrat from New York, to say a few concluding words. Meeks is a supporter of Uribe's and committed advocate of Afro-Colombians. He assures the receptive crowd, "We come from the same place and we suffer the same problems. Only together can we change things."

It is a fine sentiment. If only there were any guarantee it would be acted on. Secretary of commerce Carlos Gutierrez has brought the delegation here as part of his effort to sell Democrats on approving a U.S.-Colombia Free Trade Agreement (FTA). Democrats are threatening to block the deal, driven by two factors: the hatred of Uribe felt by left-wing groups in Washington, and, more important, union opposition. The defeat of this agreement would represent strategic shortsightedness on a par with the attempted rebuke of Turkey earlier this year. And, in human terms, it would be an act of shameful stinginess.

What has Uribe accomplished in Colombia? Nothing less than saving his country. In Colombia, horrific violence has almost been the norm, with vast bloodlettings in civil wars in the first half of the 20th century. In the 1960s, two Marxist guerrilla groups sprang up: the rural-based Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN). (The acronyms, of course, are Spanish.) Both groups were successfully contained in the 1970s and the country experienced a period of strong economic growth and relative stability.

Then came the Medellín drug cartel. Its rise in the early 1980s precipitated a war of all against all as competing illegal armies grew flush with drug profits and corruption weakened the government. Vicious paramilitary groups mustered to fight the FARC, whose strength steadily grew. At its height, the FARC had 17,000 fighters and its weaponry was better than that of the Colombian military.

The army had only 20,000 professional soldiers and 20 helicopters to deploy around a country twice the size of France. In 1995, 58 percent of municipalities had a FARC presence (up from 17 percent ten years earlier) and 25 percent of municipalities had no police presence, according to a report from the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Crime of all sorts skyrocketed.

President Andrés Pastrana responded to this crisis with a program of outreach and appeasement. He handed over an enormous

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Islamic Mosque, Nairobi, Kenya

About Your Professor

Dr. John L. Esposito is Editor-in-Chief of *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, The Oxford History of Islam,* and *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam.* He has more than 25 books to his credit.

An international consultant, he is Professor of Religion and International Affairs and of Islamic Studies at Georgetown University, Washington, DC. He specializes in Islam, political Islam, and the impact of Islamic movements from North Africa to Southeast Asia.

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"demilitarized zone" to the FARC that quickly became a base of operations for the guerrilla group. With negotiations getting nowhere, Pastrana finally ordered an end to the zone and launched what became Plan Colombia, an effort to bolster the Colombian state. The United States has poured more than $5 billion into Plan Colombia in what has been, in effect, a spectacularly effective nation-building program.

When elected to the presidency in 2002, Uribe inherited a country that could be compared very roughly to New York in the 1970s, the Balkans in the 1990s, or Iraq now. He immediately boosted the size of the military with a tax increase on the wealthy; there are now 78,000 professional soldiers and 260 helicopters. Within his first year in office, according to CSIS, he reduced the strength of the armed groups by 25 percent through combat losses and defections.

Uribe put police in every municipality, asserting lawful state authority around the country in a way no Colombian government had before. He threatened and cajoled the paramilitary groups into demobilizing, taking 30,000 illegal fighters off the battlefield. The FARC's strength is down an estimated 40 percent. From 2002 to 2006, murders dropped 40 percent, and, from 2000 to 2006, kidnappings dropped almost 80 percent.

The new Colombia is dramatically illustrated by Medellín, the city that had been synonymous with the late drug kingpin Pablo Escobar. In 1991, 6,500 people were murdered in the city of two million; in 2006, 700 were. Medellín's murder rate is now lower than Baltimore's.

The outgoing mayor of Medellín, Sergio Fajardo, is a University of Wisconsin–educated mathematician who, in his jeans and casual shirts, looks like he just walked out of a seminar room. He swept into office four years ago, a leader in a citizens movement that was part of the ground-up revulsion against violence across Colombia. Listening to him explain his work in the city is like hearing a cross between Rudy Giuliani (in his commitment to vigorous policing) and Marian Wright Edelman (in his advocacy of social programs to give people hope).

Security is not enough for Colombia. The country is awash in stories of heartbreak. A displaced young woman working at a flower farm outside Medellín relates that her father, two brothers, and cousin were killed by an armed group. Her family had escaped unharmed when one armed group swept through its area. But when a rival group came, it assumed—in the awful logic of the conflict—that the family had been collaborating with the other group. The very act of surviving was a provocation, paid for in blood.

People like her—and there are millions of them—need jobs. By boosting the Colombian economy, the U.S.-Colombia FTA would make it easier to help them (Uribe already devotes 40 percent of his budget to social spending). Strategically, Uribe's Colombia is a bulwark against Chávez's Venezuela, which aids the FARC and would love nothing more to have an ally in Bogotá instead of the democratic, pro-U.S. Uribe.

Uribe's left-wing critics in the U.S. point to all the corruption and violence that still exist in Colombia, blaming Uribe for merely dramatically improving his country, not rendering it perfect. But we poured money into Plan Colombia when everything was much worse. "After $5.5 billion, we're going to step back now?" asks an incredulous Secretary Gutierrez.

Then there are the unions, the most potent opposition to the FTA. They hate the deal even though most Colombian exports to the U.S. already benefit from trade preferences. The ostensible reason for their opposition is violence against Colombian union leaders, but attacks against unionists have tracked with general trends of violence—as killings have declined since 2002, so have murders of union leaders.

Some Democrats visiting here give the impression of looking for any reason to oppose the FTA. Astonishingly, Rep. Yvette Clarke (D., N.Y.) says that, from her perspective, the FTA has "nothing to do with Colombia. We have an obligation to the constituents that we serve." As if her constituents back in Brooklyn were competing with Colombian exporters whose main products are oil, coffee, and flowers.

New York Times writer James Reston once said that Americans would do anything for Latin America—except read about it. Watching Democrats come here and empathize with the plight of Colombians, only to go home and perhaps kill the FTA, suggests these humanitarians will do anything for Latin America—except cross the unions. NR

■ THE NATION

A Tasty Presidential Perk

Medals of Freedom

JAY NORDLINGER

Just as it's good to be king, it's good to be president. The perks are many: and not just *Air Force One*, the White House pastry chef, and the Marine Band. (The president used to have a yacht—the *Sequoia*—but Jimmy Carter sold that, in a display of non-ostentatiousness.) The president has the privilege of awarding Medals of Freedom—Presidential Medals of Freedom, they're called. This must be one of the most rewarding parts of the job. And a president's choices reveal a fair amount about the man.

In the first week of November, President Bush completed another round of Medals of Freedom. Among his choices was Dr. Oscar Elías Biscet—who was not able to receive his medal in person. He is in a Cuban prison, and long has been. Biscet is one of the bravest and most inspiring of the Cuban political prisoners. He does not get much attention in the world press. But George W. Bush knows who he is: and he sent a message that was, indeed, heard. It lifted Cubans, at home and in exile, and irritated the Cuban dictatorship.

It also irritated National Public Radio—America's own—which was incredibly sniffy toward this medal for Biscet. NPR gave the impression of considering Bush's action rude—even illegitimate. Among the sniffy remarks: "The dissident's views are . . . closely aligned with the Bush administration's position—which is not the criteria [*sic*] for being recognized."

Ignoring NPR's respect for English,

Mr. Nordlinger is an NR senior editor.
***Here, There & Everywhere: Collected Writings of Jay Nordlinger* is available at Store.NationalReview.com.**

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what about its respect for facts? In fact, the president can give the Medal of Freedom to whomever he wishes, for whatever reason he wishes. The medal was established in 1945 by President Truman, who wanted a way to honor the contributions of American civilians in World War II. (The Congressional Medal of Honor took care of military heroes.) Some 20 years later, President Kennedy revised and expanded the medal: to give it to those who have made contributions "in all forms of endeavor that are touched with the public interests."

The criteria are very broad. The president can give it to foreigners, and he can give it to the deceased. An individual can receive more than one Medal of Freedom—Ellsworth Bunker and Colin Powell have received two. Theoretically, the president can give it to his pet teacher, or his pet beagle. The Medal of Freedom—America's highest civilian honor—is entirely in the president's gift, as the British would say.

Speaking of the British: Some of us have long been queasy about Presidential Medals of Freedom, because they smack of an honors list (whereby you get "Sir Fred" and so on). They *are* an honors list. And that is not very republican—baubles from the government, official imprimaturs, a roll of Best People. On the same grounds, we object to America's having a "poet laureate"—an official poet—which it has since 1985. That is truly shudder-making. But as long as we're going to have these Medals of Freedom, we want our guys—our favorites—to get them, naturally.

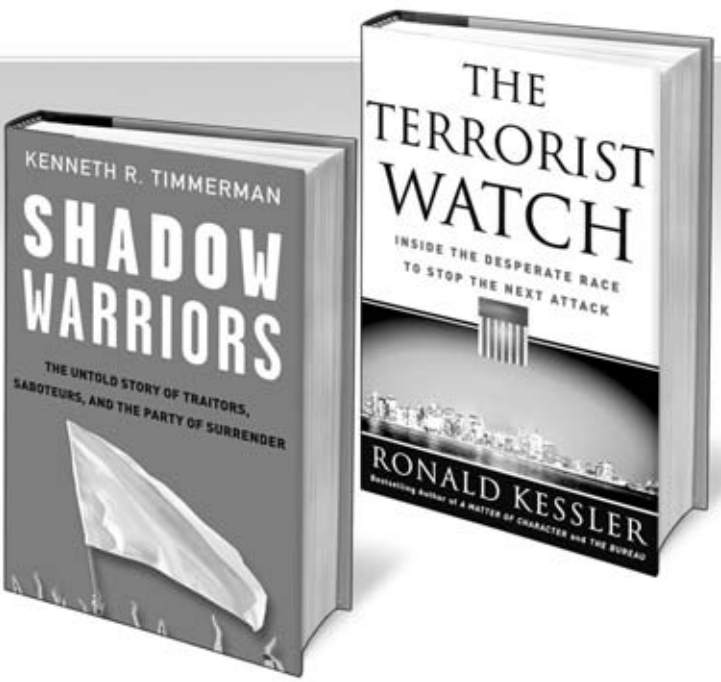
President Kennedy never got to award his medals—that is, never got to do so in person. He announced his choices on the Fourth of July 1963, but the ceremony was not to take place until December 6. Lyndon Johnson made the awards in JFK's stead—and awarded one of his own to the fallen president. Among Kennedy's choices were weighty men of government: McCloy, Frankfurter, Lovett. But he also included a clutch of musicians: Marian Anderson, Pablo Casals, Rudolf Serkin. And a clutch of writers: E. B. White, Edmund Wilson, Thornton Wilder.

All this is immediately recognizable as Kennedyesque.

In later years, LBJ made many sensible awards—you might call them consensus awards—including ones to Helen Keller and Walt Disney, who, in official documents, is called "Walter Disney," which is like saying "John Carson."

Neil Armstrong walked on the moon on July 20, 1969; three weeks later, President Nixon hung a Medal of Freedom around his neck. I also note that, the next year, he conferred the medal on Maestro Eugene Ormandy. The story is told—I can't confirm—that two members of his Philadelphia Orchestra once refused to stand for the national anthem, in protest of the Vietnam War. Ormandy was minded to fire them, but was dissuaded. (A Jew from Hungary, Ormandy was not averse to fighting dictatorships.) (And, where orchestras were concerned, he favored benevolent ones.)

Destroying the myths about who is protecting us . . . and who is endangering us.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Gerald Ford had a brief presidency, of course, but he got in a decent number of medals. He did Arthur Rubinstein, Jesse Owens, and Martha Graham. And, on his way out the door—January 1977—he did Irving Berlin, Omar Bradley, Joe DiMaggio, and the Durants, among others. Those others included Lady Bird Johnson, a gracious choice. And they also included his secretaries of state and defense: Kissinger and Rumsfeld. (Separate ceremonies, for those two rivals.)

President Carter gave the medal to some liberal lions: Roger Baldwin, Rachel Carson, Arthur Goldberg, Margaret Mead. He also honored some southern writers—e.g., Eudora Welty—and his military mentor, Hyman Rickover. And, on *his* way out the door—January 1981—he decorated just about his entire team: Brown, Zbig, Muskie, Warren Christopher, Andy Young, Bob Strauss. Also Walter Cronkite.

You might say that Cronkite's services to the Democratic party were greater than those of anyone on Carter's team, including the president himself.

In his eight years, President Reagan gave the medal to a big number of people, and to a tremendous diversity of them. He was criticized for favoring Hollywood "pals"—who were also America's pals: Cagney, Sinatra, Stewart (Jimmy, not Martha). He gave the medal to one of his favorite writers, Louis L'Amour—intellectuals and would-be intellectuals gagged at this. He honored musicians: not just Sinatra, but Horowitz and Rostropovich, two escapees from Soviet Russia. Also Meredith Willson, of Iowa, the creator of *The Music Man*. And, perhaps surprisingly, Reagan honored two men of the ballet: George Balanchine and Lincoln Kirstein. Could have been the influence of his dancer son Ron.

As was only right, Reagan nodded to a couple of liberal heroes: the Democrat Eunice Kennedy Shriver; the Republican Jacob Javits. No one could object. But great objection was made when Reagan honored the heroes of anti-Communism: Whittaker Chambers, James Burnham, Clare Boothe Luce, Sidney Hook, Leo Cherne, and more. This happened while the Cold War was still hot. Reagan was being "ideological" and "needlessly provocative," to use then-current phrases. And he was definitely showing where his heart lay.

In maybe his nerviest medal of all, Reagan paid tribute to Judge Kaufman, who, in a long and challenging career, had sentenced the Rosenbergs.

President Bush the Elder honored two foreign heroes—Walesa and Thatcher—and, one day in July 1991, his Persian Gulf team: Schwarzkopf, Powell, Baker, Cheney, and Scowcroft. Later that year, he bestowed the medal on William F. Buckley Jr. (whose co-recipients that day included Friedrich von Hayek, Vernon Walters, and Tip O'Neill).

Bill Clinton took care of many liberal lions, to be sure: Justice Brennan, Senator Fulbright, Cesar Chavez, Joe Rauh (another labor leader), George McGovern, John Kenneth Galbraith, Herb Block (the cartoonist), Marian Wright Edelman, Jesse Jackson. That last was particularly hard for some of us to swallow. But he also honored Republicans. In 1994, he gave a medal to Bob Michel, the House minority leader who was retiring, surpassed by Newt Gingrich & Co. We might snicker that Michel was the Democrats' kind of Republican.

Sharansky and friend

And, in 1997, Clinton honored Bob Dole, whom he had beaten the year before. We might say that it's easy to be gracious toward a man you have vanquished—and we'd be right. But this was still a commendable act.

Of the current president's 70-some awards, the most controversial took place on December 14, 2004: He conferred medals on Tommy Franks, George Tenet, and Paul Bremer. Many people—including the editors of National Review—said that these awards were undeserved, considering failures in Iraq and elsewhere. Others said that these were decent men who had done their best in trying circumstances. Both claims could be true: that the awards were undeserved, and that the men had done their best.

Bush has honored athletes: baseball's Hank Aaron and Frank Robinson; golf's Arnold Palmer and Jack Nicklaus. (He has not done Tiger Woods, who is perhaps too young. Although LBJ gave Leontyne Price the Medal of Freedom when she was in her mid-30s.) Bush selected Paul Rusesabagina, a favorite of his, a symbol of resistance to Rwandan genocide. He also honored a mighty liberal lion, or lioness: Katharine Graham.

Most strikingly, however, he has given—delighted in giving—Medals of Freedom to thinkers and writers he especially admires: A conspicuous example is Natan Sharansky. ("If you want a glimpse of how I think about foreign policy," he once said, "read Natan Sharansky's book"—referring to *The Case for Democracy*.) He has also draped medals around Paul Johnson, Norman Podhoretz, Robert Conquest, Irving Kristol, and James Q. Wilson. He is a great fan of Mark Steyn, too: Might he do the youthful Steyn before his term is out?

We all have our candidates for the Presidential Medal of Freedom. If he had been confirmed, Robert Bork would be in his 20th year on the Supreme Court. It's not just that he deserves the medal—he is almost owed one.

As long as the medal exists, probably, liberal presidents will look after their own kind, and conservative presidents will do the same. They will also remember the opposition, mindful that they're president of all Americans. And there will always be the consensus choices, the mom-and-apple-pie choices: your Archibald MacLeishes, your Hank Aarons, your Mother Teresas (although surely there were some who squawked about those).

In awarding these medals—lovely objects, by the way—a president indicates what he values. He does this in a hundred other ways, too. And if you don't like what the incumbent is doing—well, another election is never far off. **NR**

MATTHEW CAVANAUGH/EPA/CORBIS

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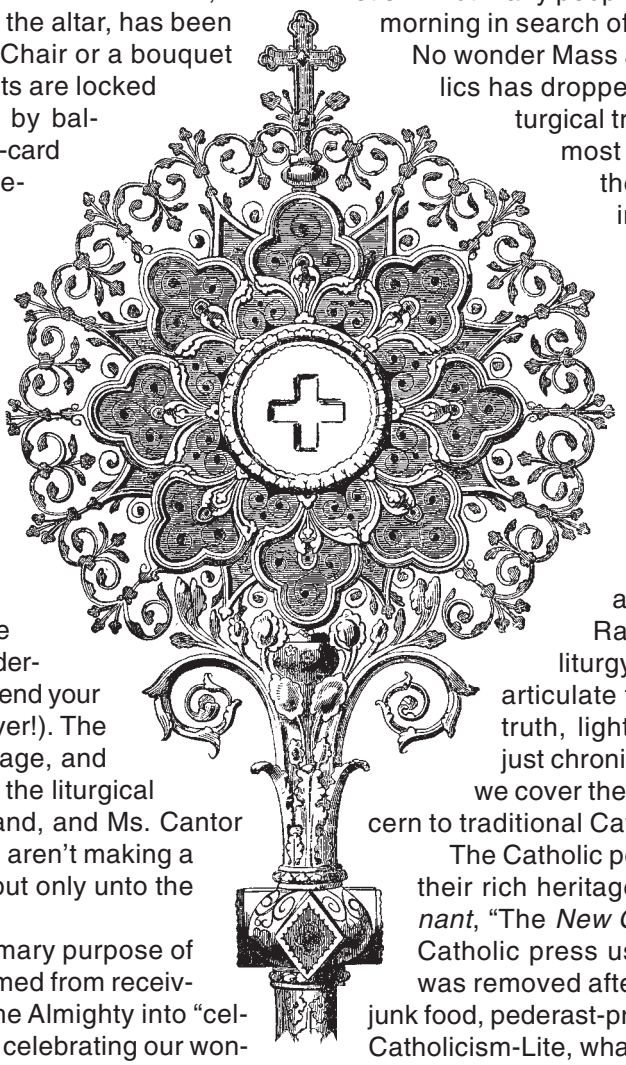
THE LITURGY AT THE CROSSROADS

In many Catholic parishes today, the sense of awe — of majesty and mystery — has largely been banished. The incense, sanctus bell, votive candles, and Communion rail are gone. The Tabernacle, with the reserved Sacrament on the altar, has been replaced by the Presider's Chair or a bouquet of twigs. Statues of the saints are locked in the basement, replaced by balloons, banners with greeting-card sentiments, and other dime-store decorations. The organ gathers cobwebs. And the crucifix has been taken down, replaced by a floating Jesus.



It's virtually impossible to pray before or after Mass because of all the chatter and back-slapping. The Creed is left unsaid. Schlock-meister-homilists pander with feel-good bubblies and lame jokes. The words of the readings and liturgy are gender-bended (but don't you dare bend your knee for the Eucharistic Prayer!). The sanctuary has become a stage, and we must clap, clap, clap for the liturgical dancers, the clowns, the band, and Ms. Cantor with her conga drums — we aren't making a joyful noise unto the Lord, but only unto the (amateurish) entertainers.

In many parishes the primary purpose of the Mass has been transformed from receiving Christ and worshiping the Almighty into "celebrating community" — i.e., celebrating our wonderful selves. One so-called liturgical expert, the now-disgraced Archbishop Weakland, has said the Mass shouldn't convey "a feeling of infinity or eternity or the world beyond," for it's really about "communal sensitivity" among parishioners. But touchie-feelie Catholicism — where, at the Sign of Peace, the band breaks into lounge music for ten minutes of hugging and laughing — has no power or magnetism. Not many people get out of bed on Sunday morning in search of huggies and gigglies.

No wonder Mass attendance among Catholics has dropped by over half since the liturgical trivialities began. And today most Catholics don't believe in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist — which isn't surprising, given that *how* we worship has a profound effect on *what* we believe about the meaning of the Mass.

How much longer will we put up with this liturgical malpractice? We at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, a monthly traditional Catholic magazine, agree with then-Cardinal Ratzinger that our damaged liturgy needs to be repaired. We articulate the Catholic Faith in all its truth, light, and splendor. We don't just chronicle liturgical horror stories, we cover the *full range* of issues of concern to traditional Catholics.

The Catholic people have been robbed of their rich heritage. According to *The Remnant*, "The *New Oxford Review* is what the Catholic press used to be before its spine was removed after Vatican II." In this age of junk food, pederast-priests, garbage culture, and Catholicism-Lite, what the NEW OXFORD REVIEW stands for could be an acquired taste — like Palestrina, Gregorian Chant, the *Kyrie Eleison*, the *Agnus Dei*, etc. But it's a taste the Catholic people once understood and amorphously yearn for.

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A Problem-Solver Whose Time Is Now

For Giuliani

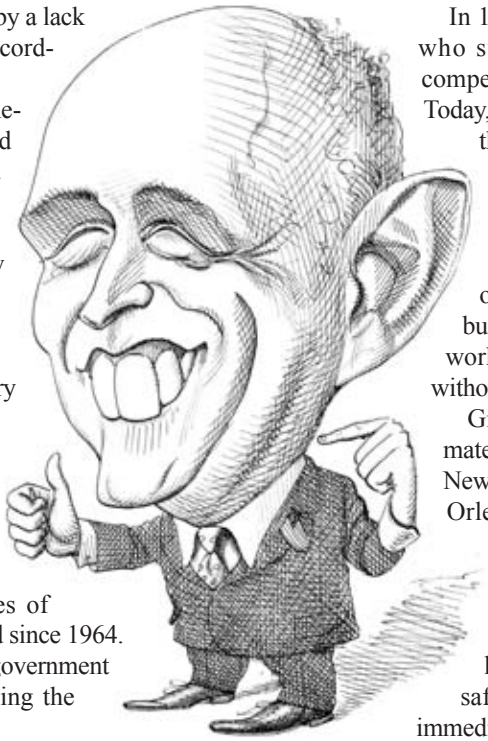
DAVID FRUM

THIS is a difficult hour for the United States. It's not just the strain of war. On domestic issues, too, discontent runs strong. The incomes of ordinary Americans have stagnated over the past six years. Health-care and energy costs have surged. In many cities, gang violence has surged. Over two-thirds of Americans now describe the country as "on the wrong track"—astonishing for a non-recession year.

In this difficult hour, the Bush administration seems to have lost its way—and its nerve. On issues ranging from the reconstruction of New Orleans to the Iranian bomb, the administration seems paralyzed, crippled almost as much by a lack of positive ideas as by the president's record-scraping personal unpopularity.

Historically, Americans have trusted Republicans as the party of prudence and sound management. Iraq, Katrina, earmarks, and airport body searches of Eagle Scouts and wheelchair-bound grandmas have corroded that reputation. As a party, we are now widely perceived as uncaring, improvident, corrupt, and incompetent. Republican identification has sharply slumped, and Democrats enjoy large advantages in almost every way pollsters can measure.

The conditions are all in place for an epochal Republican disaster in 2008. Unless something happens to change the game radically, we are looking at a real possibility of a big Democratic presidential win combined with gains in both houses of Congress, an outcome that has not occurred since 1964. Democrats are beginning to talk of a new government health-care monopoly paid for by canceling the Bush tax cuts.



These are not pleasant facts, but they are facts all the same. They present us as conservatives and Republicans with the toughest challenges we have faced in years. How can we hold the line on government while addressing America's genuine health-care needs? How can we sustain the competitiveness of the American economy against a Democratic Congress quivering to impose new taxes and new regulations? How can we win a war on terror that the congressional majority seems already to have written off as lost?

Rudy Giuliani is the answer to these challenges.

No living elected official has solved more public problems with more outstanding success than Rudy Giuliani. If there is one person Americans associate with competence in government, it is Rudy. As the primary race has warmed up, some have tried to diminish the mayor's accomplishments. But in fact, the closer you look, the more amazing they become.

Yes, the crime rate for the whole country declined in the 1990s. But New York, with a little less than 3 percent of the nation's population, accounted for 15 percent of the nation's decline in homicides. Much of the improvement in former high-crime zones like Chicago, Washington, and Miami occurred precisely because New York's success inspired other mayors to follow where Giuliani had led.

It is not just crime. Giuliani restored civility to New York's public spaces, reformed welfare, broke the grip of organized crime on trash collection and food wholesaling, restored academic standards in the city university system, chased the sex industry off the streets, held the line on taxes, and set in motion one of the greatest property booms in city history.

In 1963, President Kennedy challenged those who suggested that Communism could outcompete freedom: "Let them come to Berlin." Today, Republicans can challenge those who assert that liberals can out-manage conservatives: "Let them come to New York."

Giuliani achieved his success by combining a fierce commitment to core values with an impressive flexibility in his methods. He listened to advice, tried experiments, built on what worked, discarded what did not work. He showed that a leader can be strong without being rigid.

Giuliani's accomplishment was put to the ultimate test on 9/11. Compare what happened in New York that day with what happened in New Orleans four years later. The mayor did not panic. Public order was consistently maintained. There was no looting, no lawbreaking, no criminal activity. An evacuation of about half a million people from lower Manhattan proceeded smoothly and safely. The local economy recovered almost immediately. The disaster zone has not only recovered, but erupted into new life.

Giuliani's record is the best possible reply to Democratic criticisms of Republican governance. It is also the best hope to recover lost supporters. Giuliani's urban ethnic background resonates in key states like Florida and New Jersey, where local polling suggests he does best among the leading Republicans in head-to-head matchups against Hillary Clinton.

Romney, Thompson, McCain, and Huckabee are candidates of many excellences. But they cannot possibly hope to win in a year like 2008. Rudy Giuliani can do more than hope.

If elected, Rudy Giuliani would start his presidency with more

Mr. Frum, an NR contributing editor, is the author of the forthcoming book *Comeback: Conservatism That Can Win Again*. He is an unpaid senior policy adviser to the Giuliani presidential campaign.

"CASES FOR THE CANDIDATES" ILLUSTRATIONS BY ROMAN GENN

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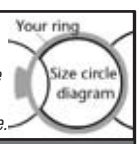

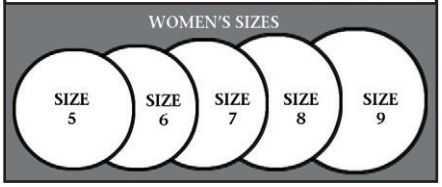

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knowledge of world leaders and world problems than almost any of his recent predecessors started with. He has been dealing with terrorism since his days as a federal prosecutor; he led a city where one out of every ten private-sector workers is employed by a foreign company. True, he lacks the gilded foreign-policy résumé of a George H. W. Bush. But compared with any other recent president, Giuliani has traveled more, met more foreign leaders, and thought more deeply about international problems. He will carry forward the foreign-policy goals declared by President George W. Bush—but with enough distance from that administration that he will be able to try new methods. This is not a contest that conservatives can afford to take lightly: To lose the 2008 election is probably to lose the war in Iraq.

Most Republicans agree with most of these positive assessments of Giuliani. Yet many continue to hold back, for reasons like those forcefully articulated by Hadley Arkes in an influential recent article: "The nomination and election of Rudy Giuliani would mark the end of the Republican party as the pro-life party in our politics."

This is exactly wrong. Yes, there are Republicans who want to chase pro-lifers and other social conservatives out of the party. But Giuliani has emphatically taken a very different view. He has extended welcome to pro-life conservatives in almost every way a candidate for president can. He has promised to appoint federal judges who take the Scalia-Thomas-Roberts-Alito view of the Constitution. He has pledged that as president he would do his utmost to persuade Americans to turn away from abortion and toward adoption. He has declared his personal revulsion at abortion. He has stated over and over that pro-life conservatives will have his respect and attention.

Giuliani may not speak about life issues with the fervor and eloquence of a George W. Bush. But for all practical purposes, what he would actually do would look very similar to what George W. Bush actually has done. Maybe even better: Remember, Giuliani will be taking advice on judges from Theodore Olson—whereas Bush's first choice for the Alito seat was Harriet Miers.

Arkes offers pro-life conservatives this practical advice: "It is conceivable, then, that from the standpoint of the pro-lifers it might be better to lose to Hillary Clinton than to win with Rudy Giuliani."

Does this make sense? Here we are at a breakthrough moment for the pro-life cause. Four judges on the Supreme Court believe *Roe* was wrongly decided. A fifth is approaching his 90th birthday. The number of abortions carried out annually in America has dropped by about 300,000 over the past 15 years, and public opinion is slowly shifting in a pro-life direction. And this is the moment you want to *lose*?

Think what the consequences of losing would be for the pro-life cause: The next eight years are likely to see the first beginnings of scientific tinkering with the human genetic code. Neo-eugenics will become a real possibility. We may have, luckily, escaped an ethical dilemma on stem cells, but there are plenty more dilemmas to come. The rules that get written in 2009–2017 are likely to set the nation's moral compass for a long time to come. Do you really want Hillary Clinton to be the president who writes those rules?

Remember, we will probably face Democratic Congresses at least until 2013. The pro-life cause will be on defense—and when you are under fire, isn't Rudy Giuliani the guy you want on your side? He's the candidate who brings the gun to the knife fight, who defies pressure groups, and who makes it a point of honor not just to demand loyalty—but to return it.

Something similar might be said about Giuliani on gun rights. It's true that as mayor of New York, in the middle of a crack war, Giuliani supported restrictions on automatic weapons. It's equally true that since 1994, gun control has vanished as an issue in federal politics—very largely because Americans are so much less frightened of crime than they were in 1994. It was Giuliani's success in New York that did more than anything to take guns off the Democratic agenda. In practical political terms, Rudy Giuliani is the best friend gun owners ever had.

Romney, Thompson, McCain, and Huckabee cannot possibly hope to win in a year like 2008. Rudy Giuliani can do more than hope.

On same-sex marriage, Giuliani's view is identical to that of most Republican politicians—and indeed most of the editors of National Review: civil unions yes, marriage no.

On immigration, Giuliani's views are more permissive than most of us at National Review would prefer. But they represent a huge improvement over the status quo. Today, the immigration laws are barely enforced at all: By 2008, some 10 million people will have migrated to the U.S. during the Bush years, more than half of them illegally. The large majority will be very low-skilled people who will consume much more in benefits than they will pay in taxes. Over the longer term, we need to shift from lower-skilled to higher-skilled immigration. But the immediate need is to stop illegal migration by effective enforcement of existing laws, using new technologies that identify who is and who is not entitled to work in the United States. Giuliani has promised to do that—and if there is one thing he has proven he can do, it is enforce laws.

This is a wartime election. It is an election that will decide between a free, competitive health system and a government monopoly. It will decide whether taxes rise, whether the swing seat on the Supreme Court goes to a liberal or a conservative, whether illegal aliens get enforcement or amnesty. This is not an election that conservatives can afford to lose. But it is an election we will lose if we refuse to face realities.

We must avoid the mistake we made in 1996, when we picked a candidate because he made us feel comfortable—with little regard to how the majority of Americans would feel about him. When Americans look at our array of candidates on the stage, they see only one president up there. That's the president we should offer them. **NR**

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Decent, Gifted, Accomplished . . .

For Romney

DEAN BARNETT

A COUPLE of weeks ago, I was having a casual conversation with someone who knows a great deal about the troop surge in Iraq and the decision-making process that led to its implementation. According to this individual, in late 2006 the president's team outlined for him the concepts of counterinsurgency doctrine that David Petraeus helped formulate. When presented with this option, the president snapped, "Why didn't someone tell me about this two years ago?"

The story may well be apocryphal. It may be the stuff of urban legend. Nevertheless, one thought struck me when I heard it: That would *never* happen to Mitt Romney.

I've known Mitt Romney since early 1994. I was one of the first volunteers for his ill-fated Senate campaign that year against Ted Kennedy. I was his occasional driver, taking him to ward-committee meetings around the commonwealth. It was my job to serve as a one-man entourage—it's unseemly for a major candidate to enter a room of 20 voters unaccompanied by at least one enthusiastic volunteer.

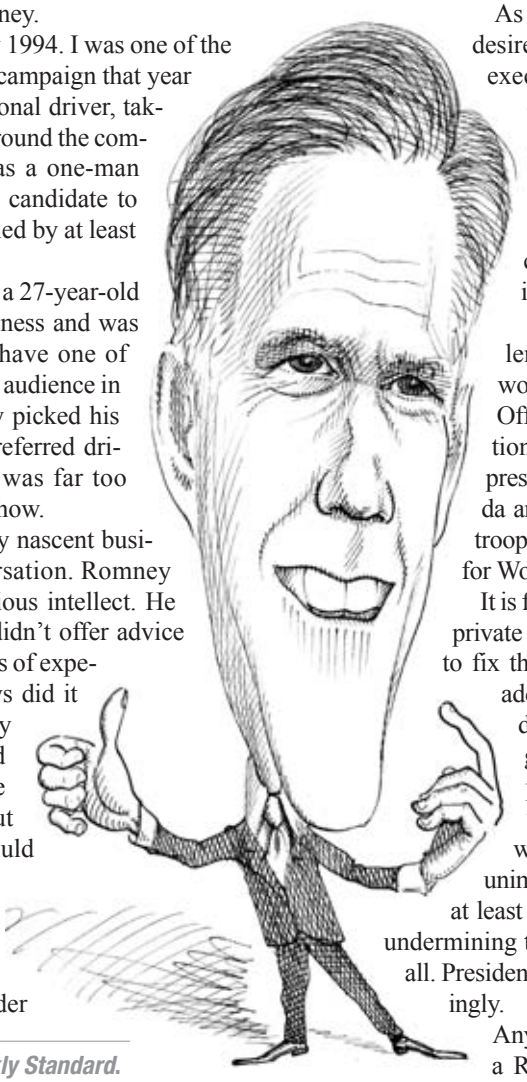
For me, it was a pretty good deal. As a 27-year-old who had recently started his own business and was eager for advice, I was delighted to have one of Boston's best businessmen as a captive audience in a Ford LTD for a few hours. I happily picked his brain. Although Romney may have preferred drivers who just shut up and drive, he was far too gentlemanly ever to let such feelings show.

One thing struck me as I wedged my nascent business venture into nearly every conversation. Romney has what is best described as a voracious intellect. He didn't casually toss off opinions. He didn't offer advice from his gut, nor did he rely on his years of experience and say things like, "We always did it this way." If he was going to venture any opinions or offer any advice, he would gather all the necessary data before doing so. He was more curious about how my business functioned and should function than I was.

If Mitt Romney were presiding over a faltering war effort, he wouldn't passively wait for his advisers to bring him alternatives. He would consider it his responsibility to go out and find them himself.

Much has been written about Romney's business success. If he became president, he'd be the most successful businessman ever to reach the White House. What's more, he'd be the first president with significant private-sector CEO success since . . . give me a minute . . . I give up. Certainly no one in the 20th century fits that description. It's a historical oddity that our country has never looked to its business class for political leadership.

The idea of a president applying private-sector principles to fixing government is something that has instinctively appealed to conservatives ever since the New Deal created a government so obviously in need of fixing. "Fixing government" can be a facile phrase; there's nothing a new Republican president will be able to do to "fix" Congress, especially with Harry Reid and Nancy Pelosi running it. But during the Bush administration, the glaring deficiencies of agencies under the direct control of the executive branch reached a critical mass. The fact that President Bush appointed obviously unqualified people like Mike Brown and Alberto Gonzales to important offices appalled the general public and made conservatives wince. Bush was supposed to be the first MBA president; even people without the purported benefit of a Harvard MBA know enough to hire individuals capable of adequately performing their jobs.



As a CEO, President Bush has left a lot to be desired. The CIA reports to him. It is part of the executive branch. And yet, under this president, it expanded its portfolio beyond its decades-long tradition of over-promising and under-delivering. In the past seven years, the CIA has become a rogue agency: Significant parts of it are dedicated to undermining the administration it is supposed to serve.

The State Department has had similar problems; the career diplomats have refused to work out of the same playbook as the Oval Office. Even at the Pentagon, significant portions of the power structure have fought the president they serve, anxious to ignore his agenda and return to their normal routine of orderly troop rotations, ship procurements, and preparing for World War Whatever with China.

It is fairly remarkable to anyone coming from the private sector that the administration not only failed to fix these problems, but never bothered even to address them seriously. One can say there's a difference between the private sector and the government, but the differences between poorly functioning organizations requiring wholesale personnel changes, regardless of what sector they're in, are actually few. It is unimaginable that a President Romney wouldn't at least get his own house in order. A CIA bent on undermining the administration is worse than no CIA at all. President Romney would realize this and act accordingly.

Any talk of Romney's business approach brings a Romney supporter uncomfortably close to

Mr. Barnett is a staff writer at *The Weekly Standard*.

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Preserve your entire music collection with this CD Recorder.

This high fidelity system plays your favorite albums and cassettes then records them to CDs

By John Fleming

They have been stored away for years, gathering dust in your attic or on the top shelf in your closet. You would never dream of getting rid of them, but you're not sure what else to do with your vintage vinyls and cassettes. You would love to be able to listen to them again, but pulling out the old record player (which may or may not still work) is not worth the hassle. In addition, you don't have a cassette player any longer.

Allow us to offer you a solution to this dilemma in the form of the CD Recorder.

This music system will play your record albums, cassettes, and CDs. It can also bring your vinyl LPs and cassettes into the world of modern music by recording them onto CDs! This ingenious system needs only the push of a button to record your old albums and cassettes to CDs. Once on CD you can listen to this crisp, clean sound in your vehicle, or anywhere you'd like.

This beautifully designed all-in-one system combines the most modern of components with a retro-style design. The cherry finish cabinet has old-fashioned speaker panels on the front. Also located on the front is an antique brass front panel that contains the LCD display and all the buttons and knobs necessary for each of the three components.

Located at the top of the system, under the lid, is the three-speed turntable that plays 33 1/3s, 45s, and 78s. Place the stylus on your favorite album, sit back, and enjoy the old style and sound of all your long unplayed favorite records.

The side-mounted cassette deck will enable you to listen, once again, to the ton of cassette tapes that you have packed away, or you can record them onto a CD in a digital audio format for high quality sound.

The CD player, when not being used to record music from the other media, is capable of playing CD-R/RWs as well as store-bought CDs. This player also has repeat and shuffle options so you can listen to a specific song as many times as you'd like, or you can mix up the order of your mixed CD.

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Dukakis territory. Michael Dukakis campaigned promising little more than competence and higher taxes. His bloodless, technocratic approach has left him a punch line 20 years later for the few political junkies who remember him. It's safe to say that one Michael Dukakis in the nation's history was more than enough.

But as a Massachusetts resident, I knew Michael Dukakis, and Mitt Romney is no Michael Dukakis. Where Dukakis was cold and aloof, Romney is warm and engaging. People who meet Romney are almost invariably charmed. To put it mildly, the same could not be said of Dukakis. One of the reasons that Romney's doing so well in the early-voting states is that the people there have gotten to know the real Romney, as opposed to the national-media narrative that has arisen around his campaign.

That narrative brings us to the uncomfortable topic of serial flip-flopping or, as we Romney supporters like to think of it, fortuitous evolutions on vital issues. (I kid, I kid.) In truth, the media have greatly exaggerated Romney's purported flip-flops. Regarding fiscal policy and foreign policy (the two biggies), he has been consistent. The flip-flopping charge usually reduces to the social issues, especially abortion.

Even there, the facts are considerably more nuanced than the common perception indicates. The infamous YouTube clip is accurate: When Romney ran against Ted Kennedy in '94, he did indeed ardently defend his commitment to preserving a woman's right to choose. Yet he refused to call himself pro-choice or to commit himself on the morality of abortion. The *Boston Globe* made a big fuss over work in his church where he advised parishioners not to have abortions because abortion was immoral. For all of this, the Kennedy campaign rewarded him with the sobriquet "Multiple Choice Mitt." Voters concerned about where Romney's heart truly lies regarding the abortion issue may find this brief history informative.

But the change (or rather evolution) in his abortion position isn't the only reason that the flip-flopping rap has achieved traction. Mitt Romney looks and acts like a politician from Central Casting. Handsome and articulate, he looks as if politicking came naturally to him. It's a good thing for Romney that politicking does indeed come naturally to him; it's a bad thing that the public recognizes this. People don't trust smooth-talking politicians. George W. Bush's epic battles with the English language made him more human and trustworthy to many voters. Romney will have no similar advantages.

For the 2008 election, especially in the Republican primaries, the issue of trust is paramount. Basically, all the candidates stand for the same thing. They're all hawkish, all anti-tax, all anti-amnesty. Even on abortion, Rudy Giuliani promises to appoint judges cut from the same cloth as John Roberts and Sam Alito, a position that makes him effectively pro-life. For conservatives, then, the campaign boils down to this: Whom do they most trust to carry out these campaign promises? That's why the flip-flopping charge has the potential to be ruinous for the Romney campaign.

Romney has an easy answer to the charge, one that he hasn't used much during the campaign to date. This isn't his first trip around the political track. He ran for governor of Massachusetts in 2002 and won. Like all politicians, he made dozens of campaign promises. Unlike most politicians, he kept them all. Mitt Romney was not one of these Bill Clinton types who ran promising a middle-class tax cut, only to "discover" a deficit when he entered office and reverse course.

In the Boston business community, Mitt Romney was known as an honest and decent man. His penchant for honesty carried over into the political arena. Although his political foes will never concede as much, their silence regarding his kept campaign promises speaks volumes.

It's actually odd how little the Romney campaign has relied on his successful term as Massachusetts governor. Perhaps the Romney team has done some focus-group testing and discovered that the mere mention of Massachusetts is toxic in Republican circles.

The Romney administration displayed an unusual amount of competence. There were no scandals; there was never even the hint of scandal. This wasn't because the *Boston Globe* suddenly became dormant and stopped hunting Republicans, but because Romney ran a tight ship. There were no Mike Brown appointments, and no petty abuses of the office like borrowing state-police assets for personal use—something that distinguished both Romney's predecessor and his successor.

> If Romney could make it in Massachusetts while being a devout Mormon, he can make it anywhere.

And then there's the landmark health-reform package that Romney got through one of the country's most liberal legislatures. Less than one year after taking effect, this innovative piece of legislation has reduced the number of uninsured Massachusetts residents by 80 percent. Republicans should be licking their chops anticipating a Romney–Clinton debate where Romney's health-care successes compare with Hillary's failures.

I've made it this far in this article without mentioning the elephant in the room regarding the Romney candidacy—his Mormon faith. My friend Hugh Hewitt wrote a book on the subject, a book that I edited. I'm aware of the gravity of the issue. I also believe that the American people will reject anything that resembles a religious test for the presidency. If Romney could make it in Massachusetts while being a devout Mormon, he can make it anywhere.

I got to know Mitt Romney almost 14 years ago. I'm happy that I agree with him on most of 2008's pressing issues. It would have pained me if I couldn't enthusiastically support this decent and gifted man's candidacy. If accomplishment, integrity, and intelligence are the traits one should look for in political candidates, then it is hard to imagine a man more worthy of support. **NR**

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O JAY, CAN YOU SEE?

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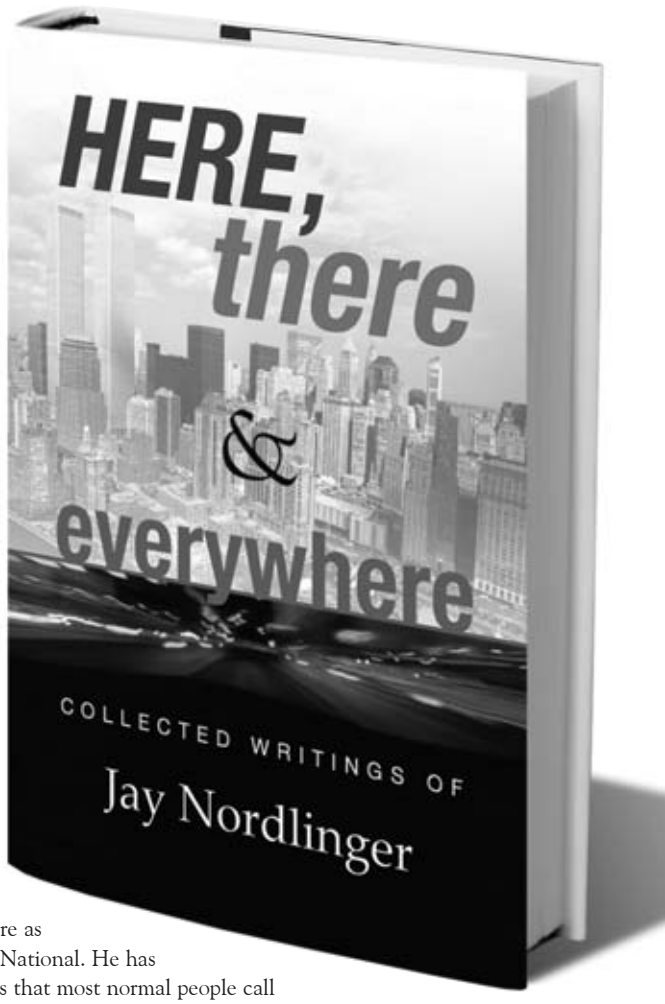

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A Hero for President

For McCain

FRANK CANNON

JOHN MCCAIN is a hero. His service in Vietnam as a Navy aviator and prisoner of war is by far his greatest qualification for the presidency. Why? Because it is a reflection of his character. At this critical and perilous time in America's history, when our freedoms are under assault from Islamic extremists and our rights are undermined at home by overreaching federal courts, we need a leader of McCain's character and courage.

McCain demonstrates his character through his fidelity to the ideal of freedom for all people; his old-fashioned sense of honor and duty; his honesty in stating his positions forthrightly, regardless of personal or political consequence; and his courage to fight for what he believes in, even when it is unpopular. Like the heroes of America's past, he is a flawed man. He will be the first to tell you that. And he has advanced positions with which I disagree. But he has consistently shown himself to be self-contained, confident, and courageous.

Mayor Giuliani and Governor Romney, both strong and qualified candidates, offer management experience as a primary credential. They see our nation's challenges as best handled by convening experts and brokering solutions. But the president is not like a prosecutor or a mayor, a CEO or a governor. He must decide, often without warning or time for lengthy analysis, how to confront crises of national importance. He must choose when to put American soldiers in harm's way. In this person, I don't look for a capable manager, but an inspired leader of sound judgment. For me, John McCain is the man who has earned that trust.

I believe there are three key qualifications that conservatives should look for in the Republican nominee.

First, he needs to be ready on Day One to fight the War on Terror. America is under attack from worldwide Islamic jihadism. This movement's tactics may be unconventional, but the war is real. The Republican nominee must have the experience, knowledge, and judgment to engage this enemy on multiple fronts, and the will to prevail.

Second, he must understand the degree to which our founding ideals are under assault, particularly from the federal courts. Against this attack, the nominee must stand unapologetically for the rights of the unborn, a definition of marriage as the union of one man and one woman, and the ability of religious persons and institutions to operate freely in the public square. Not only must he stand ready to appoint strict-constructionist judges, but he must be prepared to fight vigorously for their confirmation.

Third, he must be in a position to win in November against any potential opponent—and in particular against Hillary Clinton, the most likely Democratic nominee. To be best positioned for victory, he must stand in sharp contrast to Senator Clinton. He should be consistent in his beliefs and have a career marked by service rather than ambition. He must be able to unite Republicans, independents, and conservative Democrats in a winning coalition.

All of the major Republican candidates have something positive to offer on one or two of these points. But only McCain scores strongly on all three.

In the War on Terror, McCain has been the most consistent and vocal proponent of the successful surge strategy in Iraq. He had the courage to challenge a president and a secretary of defense of his own party when he feared they were failing to pursue a path to victory. Over the past three years he has been rebutting the liberal talking points that the invasion of Iraq was a mistake and that our presence there inevitably had to be followed by civil war.

McCain also understands that victory in Iraq is not the end of the terrorist threat, so he has been a leader in reforming the nation's intelligence service, in promoting the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission, and in creating the U.S. Northern Command with the specific responsibility of protecting the homeland. In endorsing McCain, Tom Kean, a co-chairman of the 9/11

Mr. Cannon, the treasurer of the Susan B. Anthony List, managed Gary Bauer's presidential campaign.

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Commission, said, "To the extent that we've been less vulnerable to attacks that we suffered on 9/11, it's in a large part due to the extraordinary leadership of John McCain."

We cannot afford to have our next president use the burgeoning crises in Iran and Pakistan as training exercises. McCain's career as a naval officer and his 20 years as a leader in the Senate on defense and foreign-policy matters make him uniquely qualified to address these threats. I have great respect for Mayor Giuliani and his leadership in the aftermath of September 11. But standing tall after an attack does not automatically give a person the experience and judgment necessary to prevent the next one.

America also faces a threat at home, from courts that have been undermining traditional marriage, religious liberty, and the sanctity of human life.

John McCain has been pro-life throughout his career, and has backed up his beliefs with his votes in Congress. He has said unequivocally that *Roe* v. *Wade* should be overturned, and has vowed to appoint strict-constructionist judges. Especially striking is the language he uses to describe the link he sees between the right to life for the unborn and the defense of the American ideal abroad. In his October 19 address to the Values Voter Summit, McCain said: "All people are endowed by their creator with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. For many of us, the meaningful pursuit of happiness compels us to defend those ideals, and in this hour that summons has never been more urgent, as America confronts challenges to its founding values, particularly the sanctity of human life, at home and abroad." McCain's eloquence stands in sharp contrast to the trouble some Republican candidates have had in recent weeks explaining their position on abortion.

John McCain has been pro-life throughout his career, and has backed up his beliefs with his votes in Congress.

On the issue of marriage, McCain is equally principled and direct. He states flatly that marriage is a union of one man and one

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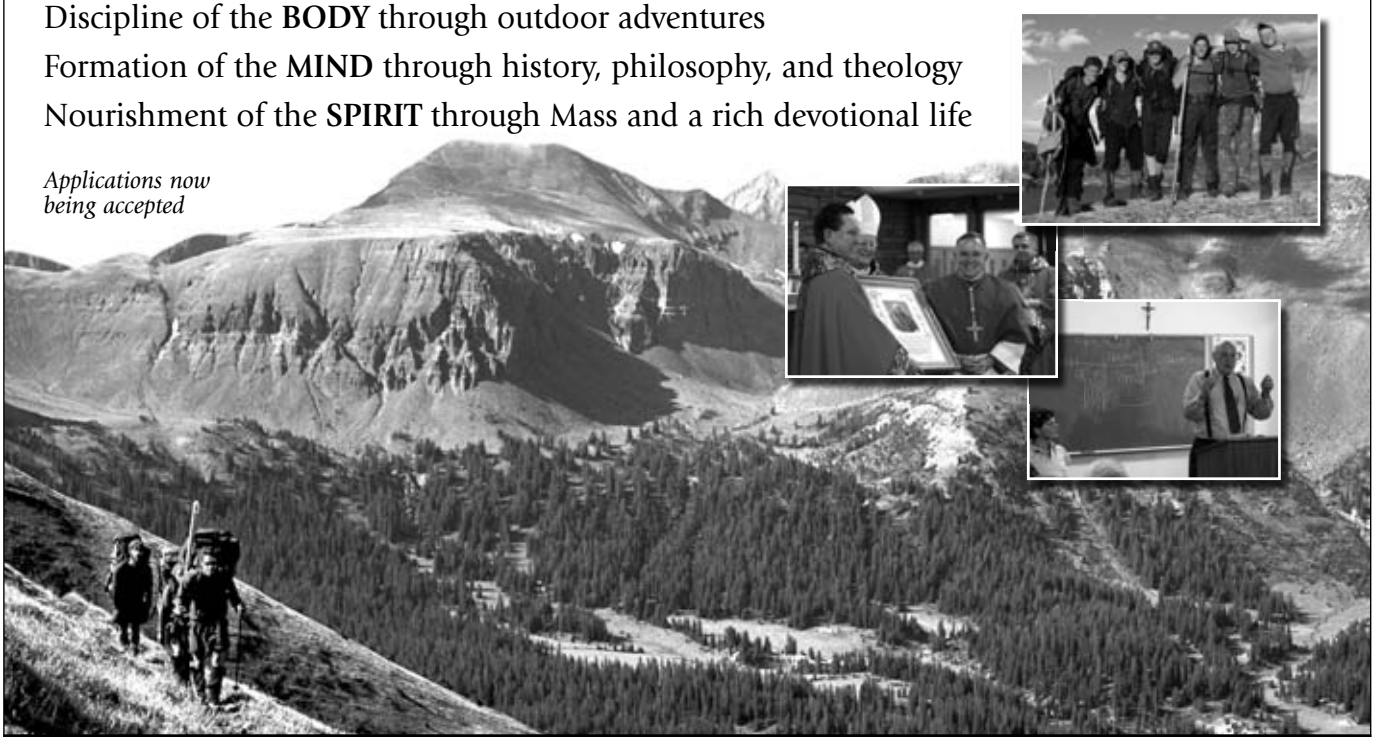

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woman. He calls the family the "foundation of Western civilization" and cites the "vital and unique role played by mothers and fathers in the raising of children."

McCain is an outspoken defender of religious liberty, and insists that a proper reading of our founding documents does not require Americans to hide their faith from public view. Everyone is aware that the current Supreme Court stands 5–4 in favor of liberal activism on most major issues. The next president will likely have the opportunity to appoint at least one new Supreme Court justice. If a conservative is in the White House, the fight to confirm his appointments—and particularly the "fifth vote"—will be one of the most intense political battles of our lifetimes. In that fight I would like to have John McCain leading our side. He is a man of stubborn principle, and we will need his iron will to confirm a strict constructionist in a Senate that will probably continue to be controlled by Democrats.

Of course, no matter how conservative a Republican candidate is, he must be able to win in November. As of this writing, the average of the most recent head-to-head polling, as calculated by Real Clear Politics, shows McCain and Giuliani trailing Hillary Clinton by 2.8 points and 2.5 points respectively—a statistically insignificant difference. Meanwhile, Thompson trails Hillary by 8.1 points, and Romney trails her by 11 points. McCain's advantage relative to the other Republican contenders is even greater when you concentrate on the purple swing states that will decide the election, such as Ohio and Iowa. In Ohio, a Quinnipiac poll taken for *USA Today* from November 6 to November 11 shows McCain 4 points ahead of Clinton, while Giuliani, Thompson, and Romney trail by 1, 10, and 9 points. In Iowa it's a similar story. A Survey USA poll conducted November 9–11 finds McCain beating Clinton by a margin of 4 points. Giuliani loses by 5, and Romney and Huckabee by 6.

Some conservatives are determined to stop Rudy Giuliani in order to keep the party from putting forth its first pro-abortion nominee. Romney supporters point to their candidate as the logical alternative around whom conservatives can coalesce. The danger is that Romney matches up worse against Hillary Clinton than does any other Republican candidate.

Even more problematic is the fact that, so far, Romney has given a negative impression to the voters who have formed an opinion of him. In a Fox News poll taken November 13–14, 79 percent of the electorate had an opinion of John McCain: 48 percent favorable and 31 percent unfavorable, for a net positive of 17 points. By contrast, 59 percent of the electorate had an opinion of Mitt Romney, but only 26 percent were favorable while 33 percent were unfavorable—a negative net rating of 7 points. Some argue that this is so only because relatively few Americans know much about Governor Romney. But a comparably small portion of the electorate holds an opinion of either Senator Thompson or Governor Huckabee, who have positive net ratings of 7 and 4 points respectively.

Selecting a president is unlike any other political choice. We should want someone who reflects what is best about ourselves and our country. I have no doubt that putting Senator McCain, a true American hero, against John Edwards, Barack Obama, or most especially Hillary Clinton will give conservatives the best chance of having their principles represented in the White House. NR

Solid as a Rock

For Thompson

JONATHAN H. ADLER

Sen. Fred Thompson may be a professional actor, but it's hard to find a more authentic conservative candidate in this campaign. He has been a consistent champion of fiscal discipline, national security, and government reform, among other issues important to the Right. As National Review recently editorialized, "Thompson has set a standard for specificity, conservatism, and soundness" yet to be matched by any other candidate. More than anyone else, he advocates a conservatism of the head that should appeal to conservative hearts. If the Republican nomination should go to the most principled and consistent conservative in the race, there should be little question that Fred Thompson is the man to nominate.

Some worry Thompson doesn't want the presidency badly enough. In an era when politicians plan their political moves years, if not decades, in advance, Thompson is almost an accidental candidate: someone willing to run if the people want him on his terms. This may be his greatest liability—but it should also be an asset in wooing conservatives to his cause.

Thompson, after all, is not running a campaign of simple slogans or pandering platitudes. He is willing to take positions that risk offending potential constituencies. Witness his attack on the gluttonous farm bill and opposition to some business-favored federal tort reforms. He may have been unprepared to answer a media question about the "Jena 6," but he can discuss the crisis in Pakistan, the threat of nuclear proliferation, regulatory bloat, or the future of entitlements with a level of nuance and detail that comes only from genuine intellectual engagement. If Republicans are looking for an "anti-Hillary"—a reluctant candidate with a commitment to limited government who will bring honor and integrity to the White House—it would be hard to do better than Fred.

Thompson has put forward a practical immigration plan that rejects amnesty and seeks to drive down the number of illegal aliens through increased enforcement and attrition. He would crack down on "sanctuary" cities, such as those in New York and Massachusetts, and complete the border fence, while keeping a path to citizenship open for those who learn to speak English and play by the rules. As the NR editors noted, "The other candidates say that they want to fix entitlements and control our borders, but only Thompson has outlined specific, conservative policies." The same can be said (and has been) of his proposal to augment the U.S. military.

Whereas some Republicans remain cowed by President

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Bush's failed attempt at Social Security reform, Thompson refuses to shy away. He put forward a detailed proposal to encourage solvency by slowing the growth of benefits and encouraging savings through voluntary private "add-on" accounts. The *Washington Post* called the Thompson plan "the most courageous proposal" put forward by any candidate of either party. When releasing the plan, Thompson brushed aside media questions about the political horserace and his opponents' troubles. "We're talking about something important," he explained. "There are relatively few issues that are very, very important. And our entitlement situation is one of them."

Some social conservatives were surprised when the National Right to Life Committee endorsed Thompson. They should not have been. Thompson compiled a 100 percent pro-life voting record as a senator and has been a consistent critic of the liberal judicial activism that spawned *Roe* v. *Wade*. Fred had no conveniently timed campaign conversion. These are positions he holds in his heart.

Every GOP candidate promises to pick "strict-constructionist judges in the mold of Roberts and Alito." Yet when Thompson promises to nominate "strict-constructionist judges," he is promising to pick jurists who actually share his own judicial philosophy. Can Rudy Giuliani say the same? His record of judicial appointments in New York is not encouraging. John McCain supported President Bush's nominees in the Senate, but he also joined the "Gang of 14" compromise that left some nominees dangling. By contrast, Thompson has been a forceful voice for judicial confirmations, and when President Bush nominated John Roberts, he asked Thompson to shepherd the nomination through the Senate.

What position would a Giuliani administration take the next time an abortion case came before the Court? Would he allow his solicitor general to call for overturning *Casey* or *Roe*? And how would a Giuliani or Romney Justice Department treat gun rights? Both claim to support a circuit court's recent decision that the Second Amendment protects an individual right to own guns—yet both have supported stringent gun-control measures. As NR senior editor Ramesh Ponnuru noted this past spring, Thompson has "been more consistently conservative than McCain, Giuliani, or Romney." And there's little that's "conservative" about Mike Huckabee beyond his views on abortion (which have changed) and gay marriage.

It's easy to cite Thompson's consistent commitment to conservative principles—a record of commitment no other candidate can match. It's also important to understand the other things Thompson, and Thompson alone, brings to the campaign. Thompson understands that it is not enough to endorse and advocate conservative principles to see conservative policies enacted. Over the past 25 years, countless conservative policy initiatives have died a quiet death, or were horribly transformed, within the bowels of the federal bureaucracy. Understanding how policy is implemented within administrative agencies is essential if a conservative policy agenda is to be fulfilled.

Attention to such "process" concerns may not excite the faithful on the stump, but it's crucial. As chairman of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, Thompson conducted meaningful oversight of the Clinton administration and its campaign shenanigans, and advanced needed regulatory reforms. One of his reports identified over $200 billion in waste, fraud, and abuse.

Many conservative voters are disillusioned with Republicans in Washington—turned off by their profligate spending, incompetent management, abandonment of principle, and apparent lack of concern about corruption. As Thompson himself has observed, too many Republicans give "lip service" to conservative principles on the campaign trail, only to abandon them when it serves their purposes.

To appeal to independents and disaffected conservatives, the Republican presidential nominee must have a record of integrity and independence—something Thompson has in spades. As Republican counsel to the Senate Watergate committee, he followed the evidence, even when it led to the Oval Office. In a scene that could have been scripted for one of his movie roles, Thompson asked the question that publicly revealed Nixon's secret White House tapes. Later, as a senator, he refused to let Republicans off the hook in Senate committee investigations.

It was actually Thompson's anti-corruption crusading that led to his acting career. He helped uncover Tennessee governor Ray Blanton's cash-for-clemency scheme. Members of Blanton's staff had sought payoffs for pardoning or commuting the sentences of several dozen convicts, including a double murderer who was the son of a Blanton booster. Thompson represented Marie Ragghianti, whom Blanton fired from the state parole board for blowing the whistle on the scheme. When a movie of the tale was made, the director asked Thompson to play himself, prompting his successful movie career.

Thompson's concern about corruption and distaste for conventional campaign financing led him to support the McCain-Feingold campaign-finance reform, a position many conservatives lament (and for good cause). Often overlooked was Thompson's role pushing for an increase in individual-contribution limits. More important, Thompson now acknowledges that the most speech-restrictive portions of the law have

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not worked as intended, and should be reformed, if not repealed.

Federalism is another issue dear to Thompson's heart. Republican presidential candidates routinely profess their fealty to federalism principles, only to jump ship when such constraints become inconvenient. Not Thompson. He firmly believes the federal government does not have the answer to every serious (or not-so-serious) problem. At the risk of offending cultural and economic conservatives, he opposes efforts to nationalize questions most properly left with the states.

Thompson believes marriage is between one man and one woman, and decries judicial rulings challenging traditional family arrangements. Yet he opposes nationalizing marriage law with the Federal Marriage Amendment. Rather, Thompson supports an amendment that would bar courts from imposing gay marriage on an unconsenting citizenry, but would leave the definition of marriage to the people of the several states, acting through referenda or their legislatures. Thompson is likewise concerned about runaway tort liability and predatory plaintiffs' lawyers, but he has opposed some federal fixes that, in his view, needlessly trample on state prerogatives, and was repeatedly the lone dissenter from Senate votes to enact feel-good federal laws on matters of local concern.

The biggest knock on Thompson is his apparent lack of drive and commitment to the campaign. Admittedly, Thompson has not spent years drafting a path to the White House—and it shows. As Politico.com's Jonathan Martin has noted, "He does a poor job feigning interest in the rituals that a modern presidential campaign demands. He'd prefer to talk about substance. Serious, sober, and boring substance." This may appeal to policy wonks and legal academics, but there is still some question how it will play to the public at large, particularly if Thompson relies upon various media, new and old, to make his case in lieu of a breakneck schedule of campaign events in key states.

He entered late, and the campaign stumbled early. Given the pre-announcement buzz, some disappointment was inevitable. It would have been impossible for Thompson to meet the overhyped expectations and sustain his pre-entry poll numbers. A spate of staff turnovers this fall and a few stumbles out of the gate did not help either. He's been inconsistent on the stump, and occasionally caught off-guard by media questions about obscure issues. More recent reports suggest Thompson's finally hit his stride, however, showing an impressive command of the most important issues and a willingness to confront tough questions. Still, if Thompson is to shake his reputation for laziness, he'll need to become more aggressive, and start conveying a sense of urgency.

Thompson has a reputation as a closer—and he'll need to close well in the coming weeks if he wants to secure the nomination. Running for the Senate in 1994, he came from behind, reversing a 20-point deficit after he took control of his campaign, eschewing traditional political strategies and barnstorming the state in a rented pickup. It may be too late to try the same technique again, but Thompson is committed to running his campaign his way.

Is America ready for another actor in the White House? It's too early to tell, but let's hope so. The last principled conservative communicator to occupy the Oval Office seemed to handle the job quite well. **NR**

How About Huck?

For Huckabee

KANE WEBB

When National Review called me about doing this piece—"Make the case for Mike Huckabee"—I admitted I wasn't 100 percent sure I'd vote for the Other Man from Hope and ex-governor of Arkansas. I'm still not. For I continue to feel warm-and-fuzzy toward that ol' lion John McCain, not to mention reassured by him each time he delivers a speech on Iraq. And I haven't thrown out Rudy Giuliani, either. One doesn't simply forget the kind of leadership he delivered on 9/11. America's mayor even comforted us way down here in Little Rock. Then there's the unavoidable fact that Mike Huckabee has about as much hands-on foreign-policy experience as I do. (Which puts him right there with Ronald Reagan when he took office. Or Bill Clinton. Or George W. Bush. Or . . .)

But Huckabee is on my short list. Which says something about a politician you've watched, covered, written about, criticized, praised, been proud of, grown exhausted by, confused by, and sentimental toward for more than a decade. (And don't even *ask* about his bad jokes.) But to know the executive-branch Mike Huckabee is to appreciate his best quality and greatest qualification for this nation's highest office: leadership.

Ask me to list the finest moments of Bill Clinton's twelve years as governor of Arkansas and I'm going to need a few days and a trip through the newspaper archives. Even then I might have to fudge. Ask me to list the finest moments of Mike Huckabee's decade as governor of Arkansas and it's as easy as 1-2-3.

1) His first day in office, July 15, 1996. It's a date most Arkansans will remember, because it doubled as one of this state's most embarrassing and proudest afternoons. Remember Jim Guy Tucker? He's the man who succeeded Bill Clinton as governor and was promptly indicted, tried, and convicted. He announced his resignation effective July 15, 1996, but when that date arrived, Jim Guy changed his mind—at the very moment Mike Huckabee was poised to take office. Ah, politics in Arkansas. For about four hours there, we the people didn't know who was governor, or if we had a governor, or what. Huckabee took to the airwaves and delivered a masterly speech that calmed the state. He had the law on his side—also the ethical upper hand. He told the people that impeachment proceedings would begin unless Tucker followed through on his resignation. He had rallied both parties behind him—no mean feat for a Republican in Arkansas. Shortly after the televised address, Tucker resigned. For good this time. Huckabee was sworn in late that night in a ceremony that united Arkansas.

2) The 40th anniversary of the Central High Crisis of 1957, when Little Rock's largest high school was integrated. Throughout his time in office, Huckabee proved again and again that great oratory can still have an impact. People who were at that cere-

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mony, including me, may not remember what Clinton said, or the mayor of Little Rock, or the principal of Central High—all of whom spoke well that day—but we remember the message delivered by Mike Huckabee. To quote:

> We in Arkansas have wandered around in ambiguity, all kinds of explanations and justifications. And I think today we come to say once and for all that what happened here 40 years ago was simply wrong. It was evil, and we renounce it. . . . And today, we call upon every church, every pulpit, every synagogue, every mosque in every part of Arkansas and the rest of the world to say never, never, never, never again will we be silent when people's rights are at stake.

Folks, as we say in these latitudes, that's puttin' it plain. To have a Baptist preacher, a white Republican governor, take it to those white churches the way Huckabee did that afternoon in 1997—in front of the Little Rock Nine and Bill Clinton and God and everybody—why, you could almost hear the shocked breaths across the South. Finally, somebody said it. Out loud. And it was one of our own.

3) Shortly after his reelection to a final term as governor in 2002, the Arkansas Supreme Court ruled the state's system of public education unconstitutional, calling it inadequate and inequitable. The losing defendant in that lawsuit was one Michael Dale Huckabee, governor of the state of Arkansas.

Instead of moping, the governor proposed sweeping changes in Arkansas's school system. Huckabee's plan included consolidating hundreds of tiny school districts that amounted to little fiefdoms for overpaid superintendents and drained the education budget. By consolidating the districts—more than 300—Arkansas could afford to offer a richer, more challenging curriculum. The governor's proposal was fought at every turn by rural superintendents and their representatives in the legislature. Huckabee didn't get everything he wanted, but he managed to consolidate weak districts. He also threw his weight behind some accountability measures, championed by some of the state's influential businessmen, that would weed out those schools not getting the job done. He did all this by reaching across the partisan divide and teaming up with one of the state's top Democratic senators. Huckabee also hired a director of education, Ken James, whose performance convinced the new Democratic governor to keep him on.

Huckabee has more than his share of crotchets and eccentricities. He sometimes played ethical games, too. He had an unflattering habit of accepting gifts, including tailored suits from a rich friend. Even more troubling was Huckabee's unapologetic use of the Arkansas State Police airplane for "official business." According to the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, that business included flying Antonin Scalia to a duck hunt in Arkansas and Karl Rove to a Republican Governors Association meeting in New Orleans.

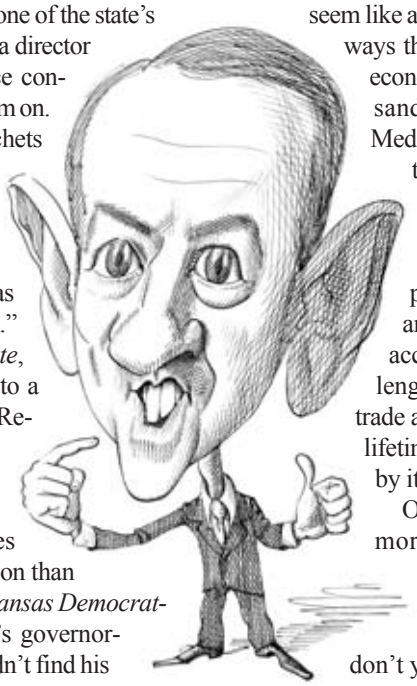
His reputation for having a thin skin became so legendary in Arkansas media circles that I started to wonder if it was more reputation than fact. A member of the editorial page of the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* throughout the whole of Huckabee's governorship, I roughed up the Guv on occasion and didn't find his skin any thinner than that of your average high-profile pol. But there's no denying that Huckabee dug in against his most severe critics, not giving an inch, arguing Every. Single. Point. and never just letting it go. He sparred regularly with a free weekly tabloid that he'd have been better off ignoring. Once, he went so far as to refuse the tabloid his weekly schedule, a benign courtesy extended to the press. Instead of hamstringing the tab, Huckabee got it some national press.

An old radio announcer, Huckabee can't resist a good line. Or a bad one. So long as it's clever. To his credit, though, I can't remember a time when he accused the press of misquoting him. By and large, he stood by his one-liners. Huckabee's candor—a blessing for us newspaper types always craving good copy—could get him in trouble. He once referred to Arkansas as a banana republic. He slapped the most conservative members of his party in northwest Arkansas as Shiite Republicans. (This was long before the war in Iraq. Those who fear that Huckabee, a social conservative and Baptist preacher, would turn the White House into a tent revival ought to take note of that shot at the "Shiite Republicans." The former governor was talking about Republicans whose myopic social conservatism turned them into perpetual aginners. And he was right.)

Some policy groupies, ad-making advocacy outfits, and conservative commentators look at Huckabee and see an economic populist with a case of do-gooder-itis bordering on nanny-statism. But that's an outside-in view—and it's not fair.

Huckabee's fiscal-conservative bona fides weren't necessarily a big issue during his two and a half terms as governor. At least not beyond the local Club-for-Growthies (although the governor's failure to eliminate the state's regressive sales tax on groceries, which hits the poorest the hardest, is a mark against his fiscal *and* compassionate conservatism).

For one thing, state law requires a balanced budget in Arkansas, which makes a sweeping tax cut difficult. For another, Huckabee dealt with a state legislature that was overwhelmingly Democratic—as it historically has been in Arkansas. Good luck trying to get a massive tax cut past that bunch. In addition, tax cuts didn't seem like a big issue because there were bigger issues—highways that were in horrendous shape, stunting the state's economic growth and ripping our cars to shreds; thousands of kids whose families didn't qualify for Medicaid but couldn't afford health care; our unconstitutional, unaccountable school system and a court order to change it immediately-if-not-sooner.



In the end, it's fair to say that, under Governor Huckabee, Arkansas's interstate highways improved, more uninsured kids received health care, and the system of public education became more accountable and the school curriculum more challenging. Even a fiscal conservative like me would trade a tax break for all that. Why? Because I've spent a lifetime in Arkansas, and I've seen my state held back by its bad roads and poor schools.

On the big things—from education to the lasting moral of 1957 to the way we treat the children of even illegal immigrants—Mike Huckabee had a firm grip on Right and Wrong, and showed leadership. That's important for a president, don't you think? **NR**

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the bent pin

FLORENCE KING

Sizing 'Em Up

I can't claim that Election '08 will drive me to drink because I already drink. Nor will it turn me into a druggie because none of the pills I've been taking since my health fell apart has any recreational possibilities whatsoever unless you think peeing every five minutes is a turn-on. Nonetheless . . .

The good news is that the candidate I despise the most is headed back to the prosperous obscurity of his old job as ambulance chaser. It's a rare day that American voters actually see through a candidate, but John Edwards is losing everybody except the Food Network, who are solidly behind him thanks to his extra-virgin unctuousness.

The bad news is everything else, starting with the quadrennial question that never quite goes away: Will the GOP scrape the bottom of the crackerbarrel? I liked Fred Thompson back in the '90s when his name first surfaced because he was unmarried then and I thought the country needed a vacation from First Ladies, but now I don't know what to think of him.

Something more than the euphonious charm of alliteration is making me slip up and call him Fred Fillmore. I've done it several times already and now the bumper stickers are running through my head:

Fred Fillmore,
Laidback and Lovin' It

Fred Fillmore for . . . Something.
I Forget What.

Fred Fillmore, He's Our Man!
If He Can't Do It . . . Aw, Shucks,
It Don't Make No Nevermind.

His strength is that he "looks like an American" back when that meant Anglo-Saxon yeoman. That could help him in today's anti-alien atmosphere, but it could also inspire him to do such a good job of playing the big lug with the wise-sounding grunt that he will end up doing an imitation of himself, whereupon we will all go mad from nostalgic frenzy and start babbling things like "By golly, he reminds me of Fred Thompson!"

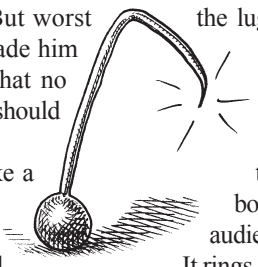
As far as I'm concerned, Rudy Giuliani ruined himself when he took the phone call from his wife in the middle of a speech. In the first place it was a dumb joke; Babbittry incarnate, straight out of the provincial civic-club Toastmaster's bag of tricks, embarrassingly unfunny and made unfunnier by his big grin because he looks like a skull from a Vincent Price movie when he grins. But worst of all, saying "Hello, dear" made him sound henpecked, an image that no potential opponent of Hillary's should risk.

If he was trying to sound like a good husband to repair what the media keeps calling his "messy" private life, he would be wiser to let it stay messy because Rudy is a natural S.O.B., one of those rare, near-extinct politicians whose strong leadership abilities and personal behavior are completely unrelated and probably inimical.

Unfortunately for S.O.B.s, the blinding contradiction inherent in the Family Man never penetrates the miracle of America's mental sunscreen. Shaded behind our soothing brown glass, we block out the glare and gaze in unanalytical approval at the politician's wife 'n' kids without ever realizing that the habits of mind they may saddle him with describe history's greatest Family Man, Nicholas II, the last Czar of Russia, who actually called his private living quarters the "Snuggery." Nicholas was ruled by uncertainty, indecisiveness, temporizing, procrastination, second thoughts, sudden reversals of course, petulance, misplaced trust, fear, and hopeless resignation. I'll take an S.O.B. any day.

How much did it hurt John McCain that his questioner (planted?) called Hillary the B-word? Politically, I don't know but linguistically I do. Calling Hillary a Bee is like telling Cyrano de Bergerac "You have a big nose." When you are dealing with grandeur of this magnitude you need to punch up your vocabulary. Oh, madam, what you could have said! How about tartar, shrew, vixen, scold, stormy petrel, or best of all, Xanthippe? Or the one somebody pinned on Bette Davis: "Mother Goddam." Or what they called Archduchess Sophie, mother of Austrian Emperor Franz Josef: "The only man the Hapsburgs ever produced." Or what Franz Josef called his daughter-in-law, Princess Stephanie of Belgium: "an obelisk of tactlessness."

I don't know that Hillary is especially tactless but you could change it to "an obelisk of clapping." It's not so much her B-ness that is coming across lately, but an element of strangeness. There she stands like a stone, staring straight ahead, the lug nuts holding her smile on screwed as tight as they'll go . . . clapping, clapping, clapping. For herself, for the other candidates, for the debate emcees, for anybody and everybody. When the audience claps she claps.



It rings a bell to anyone who remembers the heyday of the Soviet Union. The line of bundled-up men on the Kremlin balcony; Khrushchev or Brezhnev and their minions, all wearing thick Russian greatcoats made of spun-steel thread, bulky scarves up to their ears, and identical homburgs planted squarely atop their heads without the slightest rakish tilt in evidence. The whole line continually clapped for everybody who spoke, for the missiles passing by in the parade below, and for the Chairman, who always clapped for himself.

The worst thing about Election '08 is that Dick Cheney will be vice-president for another year and two months, and I don't know if I can stand it. Not Cheney, but Chris Matthews's obsession with the pronunciation of his name. He keeps saying "Cheeny" and then compulsively explains that he—Matthews—really, really prefers saying it that way. What we have here is a seasoned neurotic who is ready for the Olympics, so gird yourselves for another 14 months of watching the host of *Hardball* hop down the sidewalk muttering "Step on a crack, break your mother's back." **NR**

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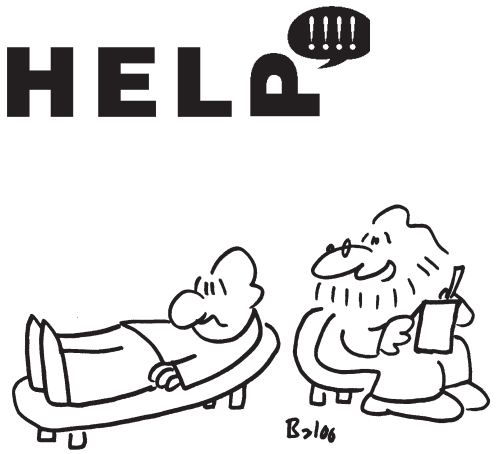
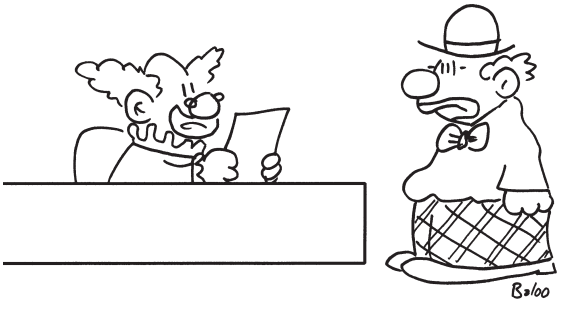
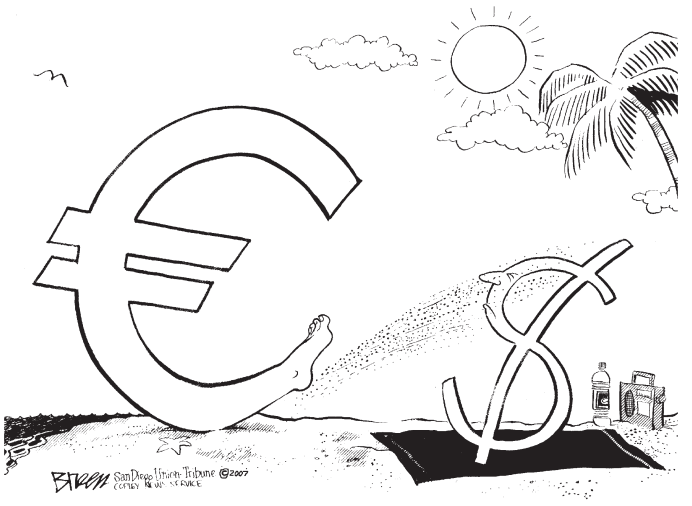
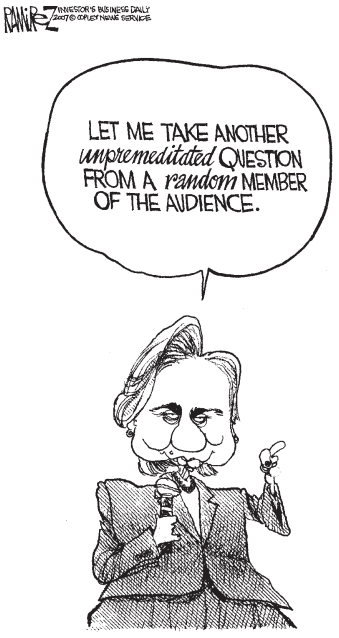


"I'm sorry, but you low-self-esteem people are so pathetic."



"We're expelling you, Henderson, because of your no-nonsense attitude."





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the long view

ROB LONG

FADE IN:

INT. STUDIO EXECUTIVE'S OFFICE—DAY

A plush, comfortable room. The STUDIO EXECUTIVE sits on an expensive sofa. A PRODUCER sits opposite. On an adjacent chair, JOSH, the assistant, takes notes. All three sip from different brands of bottled water. The PRODUCER has been making a pitch.

PRODUCER (*winding up*): . . . and the Marine guy, our hero, all dressed up in his uniform—whatever it's called, a "dress uniform"? Something. Anyway, he's all in his big military thing with the ribbons and the saber and the whole bit. And he's on the steps of the White House, and he tosses his medals—

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: He's on the steps of the White House? They let him in?

PRODUCER: He's there for some ceremony or something. Some really big pro-military thing. We'll set it up in Act One. Anyway, he throws his medals onto the steps and the cameras flash and the press goes nuts and he points to Jamil on the steps—

JOSH (*taking notes*): Jamil?

PRODUCER: Yeah. The girl from Baghdad he raped and left for dead in Act Two. Her family is murdered and robbed and executed by the elite fighting unit commanded by the son of the vice president? It's the one that the U.S. general in charge of Iraq put together for the big oil company?

JOSH (*referring to notes*): Right. Right. Got it.

PRODUCER: Anyway, he tosses the medals, points to Jamil, does this big whole apology speech to her, then removes his service weapon and Pow! He blows his brains out. Boom! Fade out. The end. Audience is just like, totally shattered and moved and just freaking out. And you know what? We say something! We say something about this rotten war.

Pause.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE (*slowly*): Yeah. Yeah.

PRODUCER: Plus, you know, Oscars.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: Right. Right. Look, I'll be honest with you. I'm going to have to pass.

PRODUCER: What? WHAT?

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: I'm looking at the box office for *Valley of Elah*, for *Rendition*, for *Lions for Lambs*, for *Redacted* . . . did I already say *Redacted*?

JOSH: You said *Rendition*.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: Are those different pictures?

JOSH: Sort of.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: Anyway. You get my point. Anti-Iraq movies don't make any money. We're not making them anymore.

PRODUCER: I can't believe what I'm hearing. We're going to let them win? We're going to surrender our sacred jobs as artists to speak truth to power?

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: Look, I'm just telling you: These Iraq pictures don't make any money. Let's leave the anti-Iraq stuff to CNN, okay? They're already not making any money.

PRODUCER: You're telling me that if I came in here and pitched a pro–Iraq War picture, you'd be interested?

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: It would depend on the budget, of course . . .

JOSH: We don't currently have anything pro-American in the pipeline.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: That's true. There's a spot somewhere for a pro-American thing.

PRODUCER: This is unbelievable!

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: Look, no one's telling you to change your vision. We're just saying—

PRODUCER: No, no, no. I mean, it's unbelievable that I didn't tell you the original way I wanted to go with the story. This is just great! No, see, you see, I wanted to make it pro-American and pro–Iraq War all the time! Seriously. Seriously! I am not BS-ing you here! It's really a simple story fix. We take the oil-company executives who hire the rapists and make them, I don't know, CBS News guys, and instead of killing the family, our Marines do, like, the total opposite of that.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: The opposite of that?

PRODUCER: Yeah! Yeah! They bring them some food or something. Or rebuild a house destroyed by, like, al-Qaeda and, um, NBC News. And the vice president is, like, killed saving the little girl. Instead of, you know, eating her cannibal-style like he does in the other version.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: Hmmmm.

PRODUCER: Oh, and country-western music.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: Hmmmmm.

PRODUCER: I think it's a great, fresh way to go, frankly.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: Honestly, it feels to me like you're a passionate opponent of the war, and you wanted to make an anti-war picture, but you're willing to toss all of that passion and commitment and left-wing politics overboard for the sake of making a movie. For money.

PRODUCER: I resent that.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: It wasn't a criticism.

PRODUCER: Oh. Then thanks.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: Josh?

JOSH: I think people in my demographic will respond to it.

STUDIO EXECUTIVE: Then let's make it! You've got yourself a green light.

PRODUCER: Let's roll!

They all toss back their heads and laugh, as we:

FADE OUT

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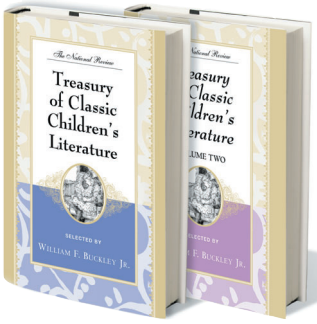

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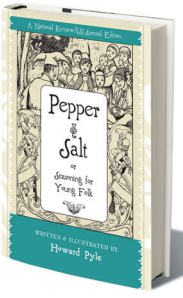

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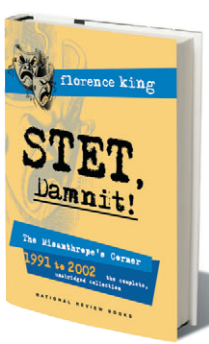

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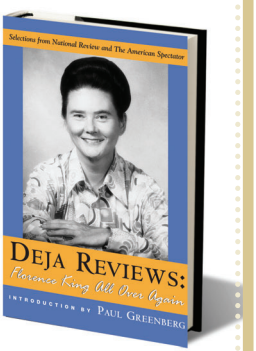
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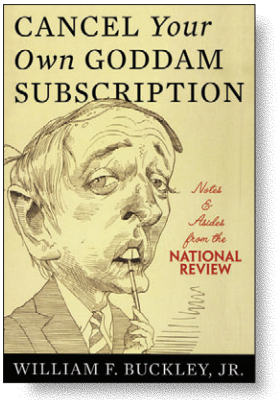

Cancel Your Own *Goddam Subscription: Notes & Asides from National Review*, by William F. Buckley Jr. (Basic, 295 pp., $24)

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

Confronted with a mince-meat pie, little Jack Horner put in his thumb and pulled out a plum and was much pleased with himself. For readers of Bill Buckley's quirky and captivating new book, *Cancel* Your Own *Goddam Subscription*, there are plums aplenty to be savored. Buckley has chosen a potpourri of incidents, encounters, obituaries, discourses on style and usage of the English language, personal attacks and ripostes, charges and counter-charges, and sometimes counter-counter-charges, from the Notes & Asides column he edited that ran in National Review for more than 40 years.

Back in the 1950s, an ideological skyrocket rising into the evening sky startled and outraged the then regnant liberal intellectual community. It signaled a renaissance of responsible conservatism after decades of liberal dominance. The new movement that seemed to have appeared out of the blue was spearheaded by a very young man who had written one controversial book, *God and Man at Yale*, but was unknown to the general public. (It would be 30 years before Ronald Reagan would describe him, at National Review's 30th Anniversary Dinner, as a "clipboard-bearing Galahad . . . riding up through the lists . . . to raise a standard to which patriots and lovers of freedom could repair.") Buckley had brought together a distinguished crew of conservatives—all of them dedicated anti-Communists—as editors of this magazine, a brand-new and exciting conservative journal of opinion, born in November 1955.

For a few years it seemed that Bill Buckley was everywhere, on college campuses, in debating halls, on radio and television—taking on all comers. His every word seemed to evoke a reaction, from young and old, from admirers and ideological foes. An unanticipated result of this was that National Review was inundated by fascinating and provocative mail far too voluminous to be accommodated in its single "To the Editor" page. Much of this correspondence dealt not with the magazine itself, or necessarily with the political controversies *du jour*, but with a wide range of concerns and interests.

Overwhelmed by this flood of material, Buckley carved out space for a new column, which he called Notes & Asides. It enabled him to dialogue with his own readers, to welcome them and their views on NR and how it was run, to inform them of editorial decisions on both style and content. It made the readers feel they mattered, that what they criticized or approved was accorded serious consideration. This proved extraordinarily helpful when the magazine had to turn to its own readers for the financial support that enabled it to survive, but the new column also provided a forum to others unrelated to the magazine to ventilate their views.

It was flippant, at times, and dead serious at others.

Frederick Miller III objects to NR's new logo. In fact, he objects across the board to change of any sort. To him, Sixth Avenue should remain Sixth Avenue, and the Dodgers remain in Brooklyn. Buckley publishes his letter and invites him to drop in the next time he is in Nieuw Amsterdam. A first grader writes to ask if a man who is bitten by a polar bear is "polarized," to which Buckley responds, "Dear Jimmy. If you are a first grader, I will eat your teacher." A Thomas Sinsky reads that Buckley has sunk two and a half miles deep into the ocean to see the *Titanic*, and wishes he had never come up. Buckley's reply: "Did you not know that I was irrepressible?" To the fellow who says he is "the second coming of Jesus of Nazareth," and asks if that shouldn't earn him a spot on *Firing Line*, the answer is "Dear Mr. Bloom. Beware. I am the second coming of Pilate."

One reader objects to change of any sort. Buckley invites him to drop in the next time he is in Nieuw Amsterdam.

Clare Boothe Luce accuses Buckley of Archie Bunkerism when she catches him referring to "a lady theologian" in a newspaper column. Archie Bunker, she writes, considers himself a member of the superior gender. To him, any woman who isn't a trollop is a lady: He refers to the "lady cops," the "lady cabdrivers," and the "Eyetalian lady" and "colored lady" whose appearance on the block has brung down the neighborhood. It's an entrancing essay on unconscious male condescension toward the female sex. There is a spirited exchange with Arthur Schlesinger when Buckley hears that Schlesinger refused to appear on *Firing Line* because he didn't want to "increase my [Buckley's] influence." This one carries over a number of issues, with increasing pomposity on the one hand and increasing merriment on the other. Not to be missed.

A few pages later, however, it is disclosed that Buckley has refused to appear on the then highly popular *Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In* on the grounds that it might lessen his effectiveness as a political activist. But eventually he folds, and agrees to appear after *Laugh-In*'s producer promises, among other things, to fly him to "Beautiful Downtown Burbank" in a plane with only one—right—wing, and

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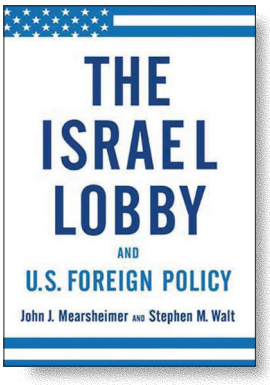
to give him a photograph, "suitable for framing, of each cast member reading National Review, or not reading it, whichever you prefer."

Knuckles are rapped. *New York* magazine in 1969 has published a column on books that are "Worth While" and ones that are "Worth Little," and consigned Whittaker Chambers's *Odyssey of a Friend* to the Worth Little list. Buckley asks editor Clay Felker to explain how his magazine reached that judgment when not a single review copy of the privately printed book had been sent out. Is this not an example of knee-jerk liberal bias? he asks. When National Review won a lawsuit against Liberty Lobby, publishers of a scurrilous, racist rag that deplored the "niggerfication" of the United States and called the Holocaust a Jewish hoax, the story on the suit in *Newsweek* called it a dispute between "two apostles of conservatism"; the *New York Times* characterized it as one between "two organs of the conservative movement." Bill Buckley asks for an explanation of how such sloppy journalism (if that's what it was) could have made it into print, particularly in the journal that calls itself the paper of record.

President Reagan sends Buckley a Christmas card in Latin. Prime Minister Thatcher has read a column in which Buckley explains how he so far forgot himself as to call her Margaret after a *Firing Line* show. It turns out he thought she had called him Bill; upon reading the transcript he found that she was commenting on a bill working its way through Parliament. Mrs. Thatcher informs him of her first New Year's resolution. "Mr. Buckley shall be 'Bill.' I shall assume the appropriate reciprocity. Yours sincerely. Margaret."

This is a lighthearted book, in general. But it is also, at times, both moving and eloquent. The essay "We Won," dated November 9, 1991, is a heartfelt tribute to the men and women—a number of whom had been associated with National Review—who contributed to the fall of the Wall and the death of the Soviet Union. A second is Bill Buckley's farewell to public life at his 80th birthday party at the Pierre Hotel in New York, in November 2005. The talk was published in the last Notes & Asides Bill Buckley edited. **NR**

It's a Wamworld



The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy, by John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt (Farrar Straus, 496 pp., $26)

R. JAMES WOOLSEY

In this book, professors John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt repeatedly stress that they accept the existence of Israel and its right to security. Their protestations naturally raise the question: Are these men, like most of their fellow Americans, Zionists?

Probably not.

The authors stress that what they seek is "a more open debate about U.S. interests" in the Middle East than we have at present. They further proclaim that they recognize that "Israel's well-being is one of those interests—on moral grounds." They emphasize, however, that U.S. interests definitely do not include Israel's "continued presence in the Occupied Territories." Indeed, their main assertion is that it is the "Israel lobby"—through its effective support for a continued Israeli presence beyond Israel's pre-1967 borders—that has produced a major share of terrorist, Arab, and other worldwide forms of hostility to the U.S. The authors hammer on this point repeatedly: "[An end to the Israeli–Arab conflict] will not happen as long as the lobby makes it impossible for American leaders to use the leverage at their disposal to pressure Israel into ending the occupation and creating a viable Palestinian state." Even Hamas will not be able to block peace in the Mideast if only the all-powerful Israel lobby can be checked: "If the United States presses hard to help them gain a viable state, and Hamas is exposed as the main obstacle to that end, then the Palestinians would be more likely to turn against Hamas and seize the olive branch."

Has anything happened in recent years that would allow us to test the authors' hypothesis? Indeed something has.

In Washington, in late December 2000 and January 2001, President Bill Clinton mediated negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. If, during those negotiations, Israel accepted a generous two-state solution and the Palestinians turned it down, then Mearsheimer and Walt's central thesis—that an all-powerful Israel lobby would never have permitted a mediating American government to propose such a thing, that Israel would never have accepted it, and the Palestinians would never have turned it down—would suffer a triple blow.

In fact, this is precisely what happened. Let's compare Mearsheimer and Walt's rendition of those events with the detailed recollections of a direct participant: in this case, former president Clinton, as set out in his autobiography, *My Life*.

In one last effort to reach an agreement before the change in administrations in the U.S., the two sides negotiated for several days during the week before Christmas 2000. Then, on December 23, Clinton brought the parties together at the White House. Clinton calls that day "a fateful day for the Middle East peace process." Concerned that Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's fear "of being criticized by other Arab leaders" and Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak's weakened political position at home were blocking the possibility of compromise, Clinton and his team decided to try to "narrow the range of debate" and "force the big compromises up front."

Clinton proposed detailed "parameters" that required both sides to make major concessions. He made clear that there was a four-day deadline for acceptance of the parameters by both parties—if they were not accepted in that time, he warned, "we were through." The Clinton parameters were not vague principles.

Mr. Woolsey was director of Central Intelligence from 1993 to 1995.

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They entailed an Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, a territorial division in which the Palestinians would receive about 97 percent of the West Bank, and an Israeli withdrawal "over a three-year period." For Jerusalem, Clinton proposed that the Muslim and Christian quarters of the Old City be in the Palestinian state and the Jewish and Armenian ones in Israel, and that the "Palestinians should have sovereignty over the Temple Mount/Haram and the Israelis sovereignty over the Western Wall and the 'holy space' of which it is a part, with no excavation around the wall or under the Mount, at least without mutual consent." On refugees, Clinton proposed that it should be "the new state of Palestine" that would be the homeland for refugees displaced in the 1948 war and afterward.

Clinton made clear that it would have to be agreed that these steps would "mark the end of the conflict and put an end to all violence"; also, that "the Palestinians would give up the absolute right of return" and the Israelis would give up "East Jerusalem and parts of the Old City."

Whatever one's substantive views about this proposal, Clinton's parameters constituted an historic and major effort. So what happened to his offer? According to Clinton, "Arafat immediately began to equivocate." Meanwhile, on December 27, "Barak's cabinet endorsed the parameters with reservations, *but all their reservations were within the parameters, and therefore subject to negotiations anyway.*" (Emphasis added.)

Clinton stresses the importance and clarity of the Israeli acceptance: "It was historic: An Israeli government had said that to get peace there would be a Palestinian state in roughly 97 percent of the West Bank . . . and all of Gaza. . . . The ball was in Arafat's court."

Clinton writes that as of December 29, "I still didn't believe Arafat would make such a colossal mistake [of rejecting the agreement after Israel accepted it]." Yet when they next met, on January 2, Arafat objected to two aspects of the parameters: He wanted "50 feet of the Western Wall . . . [to] go to the Palestinians" and he wanted "a few blocks of the Armenian quarter." Clinton writes, "I couldn't believe he was talking to me about this." Clinton reports that after he rejected Arafat's changes out of hand (in important part because ceding to the Palestinians the 50 feet of the Western Wall could keep the Israelis from protecting against "someone using one entrance of the tunnel [to damage] the remains of the temples beneath the Haram"), Arafat began "trying to wiggle out of giving up the right of return." As Clinton writes, "the right of return was a deal breaker. . . . Arafat's rejection of my proposal after Barak accepted it was an error of historic proportions." In a postscript on January 7, Clinton stresses that Arafat's "reservations, unlike Israel's, were outside the parameters, at least on refugees and the Western Wall."

A number of witnesses to these negotiations confirm Clinton's version. Now let's return to Walt and Mearsheimer: Reading their version of events is like entering a completely different world. Let's call it "Wamworld."

Wamworld is a place where there was no Israeli acceptance paired with a Palestinian rejection. In Wamworld, "the oft-repeated claim that Arafat rejected the December 2000 Clinton parameters . . . is also wrong." They admit that the Palestinian response "expressed reservations" but assert that "the Israeli government also had its own reservations" and that "neither side accepted [the parameters] in toto." They conclude that "the charge that Arafat and the Palestinians rejected the last chance for peace and chose violence over reconciliation is false."

Mearsheimer and Walt are stunningly deceptive. They use a January 7 attempt by Clinton to leave the door open for an agreement to smear across the canvas of the negotiations a patina of equivalency between the Israeli and Palestinian positions. That patina amounts to a fundamental and unsupportable distortion. By mischaracterizing the nature of the Israeli reservations, which, Clinton points out, were "within the parameters," Mearsheimer and Walt make it appear that Israel never accepted Clinton's proposal any more than Arafat did.

A commitment to distorting the historical record is the one consistent feature of this book. Let me add just a few examples.

You may have thought that the 1947–48 attacks on Israel by all of its Arab neighbors after the U.N. partition of Palestine created a perilous situation for the new Jewish state. But in Wamworld, this understanding is part of "the myth of Israel as a victim." And, by the way, those Arab leaders' calls for "driving the Jews into the sea" were "largely rhetoric designed to appease their publics." So if you want to drop by Kibbutz Ayelet Hashachar, deep in the Galilee, as my wife and I did a few years ago, and talk to a survivor of the last-ditch fight there during the War of Independence that turned back the invading Syrian armor column, you'd have to assume, in Wamworld, that he was badly mistaken—that the kibbutzniks defending their homes to their last bazooka round were engaging not Syrian tanks but Syrian rhetoricians.

You may have thought that the Egyptian and Syrian attacks on Yom

MY FATHER ON THE NILE
(a photograph, 1943)

What's the point of a picture taken
By a big-city Arab of a desert sky,
Trying to focus and capture soldiers
On a short tour of the sandy world
nearby?

Had the sergeants sat for half an hour
In a café, drinking in the bazaar,
Then heard the call of Cleopatra's
voice,
A desert song drowning out the war?

They hired for the afternoon a pair
Of camels and a horse, three guides,
Had another drink and filled canteens
Before their first and final camel rides.

The sphinx behind father sees less
Than the old desert lays at his feet,
A bird sweeps over dune ridges
Leaving shadowy cover for pure heat.

They never found the Nile we think
we know,
But slowly their eyes came to rest—
Something held their soldiers' gaze—
On the river's brown wrinkled breast.

—LAWRENCE DUGAN

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Kippur in 1973 created serious danger for Israel. Not in Wamworld: There, "it is a well-established fact that both Arab armies were pursuing a limited arms strategy."

You may have thought that the continuing commitment by the U.S. to provide about $2 billion in aid annually to Egypt—accompanying the $3 billion in annual aid to Israel that the authors invoke to prove the power of the Israel lobby—demonstrates a certain degree of even-handedness. Not in Wamworld. Nor, heaven forbid, is this evidence of an Egypt lobby two-thirds as powerful as its Israeli rival: In Wamworld, it's all a consequence of Israeli influence. As the authors tell it, the "U.S. willingness to reward Egypt . . . in this way is yet another manifestation of Washington's generosity toward the Jewish state."

You may have thought that Iran—with its continuing effort to produce nuclear weapons, and with its president's Holocaust-denial conferences and demands that Israel be "wiped off the map"—would be a danger to U.S. and Israeli national security. Well, in Wamworld you can just relax: "There is good reason to think a nuclear Iran could be contained and deterred," and anyway those bellicose Iranian statements are not really "a reflection of deep ideological antipathy to the Jewish state but . . . more accurately seen as tactical measures intended to improve Iran's overall position in the region." (Similarly, *Mein Kampf* could be described as an outline of its author's tactical measures to improve Germany's regional position.)

You may be inclined to call terrorist-supporting nations such as Iran and Syria, which are actively involved in fomenting the insurgency in Iraq, "rogue states." Well, while visiting Wamworld please remember to insert "so-called" before "rogue."

You get the idea.

What is going on here? Is this all just naked anti-Semitism in modern form, with a substitution of Israel for "the Jew" and the Israel lobby for the Elders of Zion?

Such a conclusion is certainly reasonable. My own judgment, however, is that the underlying premise of this book is more general. I would suggest that the authors are firing at a bigger target even than Israel and its American supporters.

How Does This 67-Year Old Doctor Have The Body Of A 30-Year Old?

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Jeffry Life, MD, age 67, after Cenegenics as featured in *GQ* magazine.
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Their bête noire is the notion that international relations can be about anything other than power.

Think of the authors as afflicted with colorblindness as far as their views of international affairs are concerned. In this realm, they see only the red wavelengths of power. This could explain why they so systematically, and strangely, overestimate the power and misunderstand the views of pro-Israel lobbying groups. If one starts from the premise that nothing happens in international affairs that is not power-driven, and then reasons backward to find some locus of power that had a reason to be concerned about Saddam Hussein's regime, then pro-Israel groups are among those who turn up. The congressional votes heavily supporting the Iraq war in 2003 had nothing to do with concerns about, say, human rights, arms proliferation, or U.S. national security; Congress must have been forced by some powerful entity to vote as it did. The authors note, but then ignore, repeated polls indicating that American Jews did not support going to war against Iraq as strongly as non-Jews.

In reality, few of us are motivated in our foreign-policy views by a single idée fixe. We are interested, yes, in the balance of power, but also in enhancing human rights, in economic prosperity, and in a host of other considerations. But if we were to elevate fairness to as dominant a position in the Israeli–Palestinian question as Mearsheimer and Walt elevate power, a look at our current policies would lead a reasonable person to conclude that they are based on "defining deviancy down" for the Palestinians. And just as acting in such a manner debilitated the social progress of minorities in America, so today this stance toward the Palestinians both insults them and works to cripple their political development.

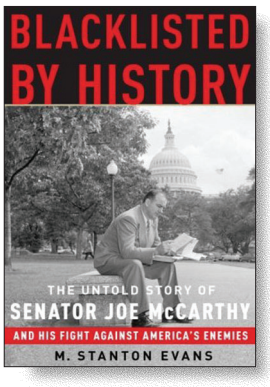
Let's try a thought experiment. Israel's population (within the pre-1967 borders) is about one-sixth Israeli Arab, and the vast majority of this group is Muslim. These Arab/Muslim citizens of Israel live freely, if not absolutely ideally, among Israel's Jews. They vote for and successfully elect real representatives in a real legislature. They speak freely, build and attend mosques, operate businesses, and partake in the booming Israeli economy (with a per capita GDP approximately double that of Saudi Arabia). They have seen cabinet members and senior judges emerge from their ranks. And they sleep soundly at night without fearing a knock on the door.

Suppose Israel were to take the position that absolute fairness between the two parties is essential—and that it would agree to a separate Palestinian state, along the lines of the Clinton parameters, only if that state treated Jewish settlers in the West Bank who were willing to become citizens of Palestine at least as well as Israel treats Israeli Arabs. These Jewish (and Christian and other) citizens of Palestine would be able to vote for their representatives in a democratically elected Palestinian legislature, enjoy freedom of speech and press, build and attend synagogues and churches, operate businesses, and sleep soundly at night.

Such an insistence on Israel's part would be the essence of fairness. And although, in the real world, fairness cannot be the only criterion for foreign-policy decisions (any more than power can be), the evolution of the Palestinian people toward being able to accept something close to such a principle may be necessary before Israelis can actually risk living with some degree of collegiality next door to a people that today elects the likes of Hamas. Indeed, under current circumstances it is reasonable to believe that Israel cannot prevent the murder of its people without the sort of tough measures used today in the West Bank to constrain terrorism both there and against pre-1967 Israel. In Wamworld, such considerations are never addressed.

There are many Americans who don't know a soul at AIPAC but see in Israel an ally and fellow democracy—moreover, a state that is the refuge for a people with ancient ties to the land and for the religion that gave to the world the concept of rule of law. And they see that ally doing its best both to maintain a decent society and to protect itself against the likes of Hamas, Hezbollah, Syria, and Iran. That many of us are sympathetic to this state for reasons having nothing to do with lobbying groups doubtless will continue to mystify Mearsheimer and Walt and those who inhabit their strange little world. So be it. **NR**

The Enemy Within



Blacklisted By History: The Untold Story of Senator Joe McCarthy and His Fight against America's Enemies, by M. Stanton Evans (Crown Forum, 672 pp., $29.95)

RON RADOSH

DURING the past decade we have seen a bold new attempt to resurrect the reputation and stature of Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, whose Senate investigations into Communism in the 1950s led to the word "McCarthyism," a term used ever since to describe those who smeared their opponents falsely, ruined their careers, and practiced guilt by association. The reevaluation began with a 1996 column by liberal journalist Nicholas von Hoffman, who dared to claim that while McCarthy "got it all wrong" he was still "closer to the truth than those who ridiculed him." In 2000, Arthur Herman produced a revisionist biography of McCarthy. And, most recently, Ann Coulter wrote that McCarthy was right: Liberals back then (as now) were "systematically undermining the nation's ability to defend itself, while waging a bellicose campaign of lies to blacken McCarthy's name."

Now joining the fray is longtime journal-

Mr. Radosh, an adjunct fellow at the Hudson Institute and a contributing editor of the *New York Sun*, has written widely on Communism and anti-Communism.

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ist and prominent conservative M. Stanton Evans. Rather than a biography, Evans has written a defense counsel's brief for his client, whom he seeks to defend against all the slanders made about McCarthy by his political enemies. Like any lawyer's argument, Evans's brief has strengths and weaknesses. He has done extensive research, and has managed to prove that many of McCarthy's main opponents themselves had a highly partisan agenda, bending truth in order to score points. Most important, many of his critics were so upset with McCarthy that they totally ignored or minimized the serious issue of Communist penetration of the highest levels of the government. Evans's brief, however, is weakened by a lack of balance, and his desire to write an unabashed tribute that seeks to exonerate McCarthy on virtually every count.

Evans is on firm ground in correcting those who believe that anyone accused by McCarthy or his allies was an innocent victim pilloried for his political views. For today's generation, which knows little about what really happened in the 1950s, Evans's narrative will be instructive. Those who are familiar with the era, however, will find that Evans moves through well-trod ground. A slew of historians have made good use of new material from Soviet archives, as well as the decrypted Venona transcripts released by the FBI and NSA beginning in the mid-1990s. Among the scholars who have thoroughly mined these sources are Harvey Klehr, John Haynes, and Allen Weinstein in the U.S. and Christopher Andrew and Nigel West in Britain. Only a few remaining true believers—such as *The Nation*'s Victor Navasky—refuse to acknowledge that Soviet espionage networks were operating in the U.S., and posing a serious threat to its national security, in the 1940s.

We now know that many of those heralded as innocent victims of a McCarthyite witch hunt were in reality bona fide Soviet agents—some of them working in the White House, State Department, and OSS. Prominent among these were Alger Hiss, Duncan Lee, Maurice Halperin, Carl Marzani, Lauchlin Currie, and Harry Dexter White. (There were scores of others.) Many of them had been named first by former Communist spy Elizabeth Bentley, and McCarthy had little to do with unearthing their secret work for the Soviets.

Evans implies that only McCarthy was really on their case, while official Washington did nothing. Certainly, security procedures were lax; many liberals in and out of government sought to ignore the issue, out of fear that it would sully the reputation of the Democratic administration. Many Soviet agents actually escaped prosecution because the Venona files were not completely decrypted—and also, the decision was made not to use the ones that were, since such use would have alerted the Soviets to American intelligence successes. Not even McCarthy, who regularly got material from J. Edgar Hoover, was aware of Venona. Instead, the suspect's names were purposefully leaked by the FBI so that the security risks would be forced out of their government jobs, once they invoked the Fifth Amendment in congressional hearings and refused to testify. To the public, invoking the Fifth branded them as potential security risks.

Evans does an impressive job of reminding readers how serious the issue of Communist penetration was. He does not emphasize, although his own data make it clear, that most of the knowledge about these people came before McCarthy was on the scene. After all, Elizabeth Bentley first went to the FBI in 1945, and named key members of Soviet networks. The FBI quickly found her information to be accurate, but was not able to use any of it in court. Nonetheless, the KGB learned that its networks had been compromised and quickly shut them down. By McCarthy's time, they were already out of business.

While McCarthy did identify some Communists who managed to escape the net, he also began to investigate and pillory many who were in no way connected with the Soviets as agents, spies, or couriers. He often failed to distinguish between actual Communists, fellow-travelers, and anti-Communist liberals and social-democrats. It was enough for him to know that they were critical of his methods and tactics: That made them as good as Communists. Many of these people were indeed Communists, fellow-travelers, or dupes. But they were not engaged in any activity except that of public pronouncements that could be accepted or rejected on their merits. Nothing in the area of their work made them a security risk. The way Evans deals with this is highly unsatisfactory: He briefly mentions their sessions with McCarthy and ends with a short, forgettable sentence to the effect that perhaps McCarthy should not have called them. He does not even pause to ask why so many anti-Communist Americans felt nothing but hostility to McCarthy.

This is not a minor matter, because it reveals a great flaw in his book. Consider his treatment of liberal editor James Wechsler. Evans acknowledges that calling Wechsler to testify was a "dubious move," and that McCarthy "should never have had the editor before the committee." But Wechsler was called and questioned, and McCarthy's treatment of him reflects why so many regarded him as a bully and a demagogue. All one has to do is read the transcripts. You will not find them quoted in Evans's book. What you will find is that McCarthy told the fierce anti-Communist editor that he had not really broken with the Communists, and was "serving them very, very actively." This was preposterous, since the Communist *Daily Worker* regularly attacked Wechsler for being anti-Communist. McCarthy thought that was all a big ruse so that Wechsler's *New York Post* readers would believe him when he attacked McCarthy in his own paper.

More important to Evans's book is the issue of Far East scholar Owen Lattimore and the Amerasia spy case of June 1945. (Full disclosure: Harvey Klehr and I are co-authors of *The Amerasia Spy Case: Prelude to McCarthyism*, a book from which Evans takes virtually all of his material and which he does not acknowledge.) The now-forgotten Lattimore was, after being attacked by McCarthy, elevated to the pantheon of heroes by two generations of historians and writers. He was an adviser to both Chiang Kai-shek and U.S. policymakers, and gave the advice that it was not in America's best interests to support Chiang's troops.

Evans easily proves that, rather than being a righteous martyr, Lattimore was a prototypical fellow-traveler of the Communists, someone who portrayed the Chinese Communists as genuine democrats. Evans easily demolishes the apologists for Lattimore by carefully dissecting what Lattimore wrote. All of that, of course, was available to anyone at the time. Evans writes: "As these quotes [from Lattimore] suggest, Lattimore seldom met a Red atrocity he didn't like, or couldn't find an excuse for." Later, he writes that Lattimore's writing proves "that he was an indefatigable shill for Moscow." Latti-

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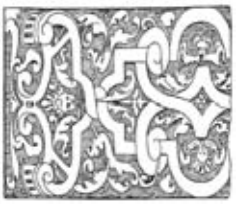
more's real politics are hardly news, and were not at the time.

McCarthy did not stop at exposing Lattimore: He announced that Lattimore was Russia's "top espionage agent" as well as "Alger Hiss's boss." Then, at a closed hearing of the Tydings Committee established to investigate McCarthy, he told the senators: "I am willing to stake my whole case on this man. If I'm wrong about him, then I am discredited as a witness." A day later, he added that he was "willing to stand or fall on this one." McCarthy fell, and fell hard. His over-the-top charges only created great sympathy for Lattimore, whose actual views and policy recommendations were completely ignored.

While Lattimore was a shill for the Soviets, he was hardly the spy McCarthy made him out to be. Rather than acknowledge this, Evans seeks to justify McCarthy. He does so by bending evidence to imply, without proof, that perhaps Lattimore was a spy. His biggest proof is that Lattimore's FBI file bore the title: "Owen Lattimore, Espionage-R" (for Russia). Any historian working with FBI files knows right away that a file category means that the FBI was investigating a possibility, and offers no proof that the person so filed was any kind of agent. Evans even ignores what he quotes J. Edgar Hoover as saying, that the allegations were "unsubstantiated."



Evans also credits ex-Communist witness Louis Budenz as further proof, since Budenz testified that he knew Lattimore to be a Communist working for the Soviets. But as Harvey Klehr and I pointed out in our book, Budenz was a most untrustworthy witness on this point. Budenz had talked to the FBI for over five years, never mentioning any connection between Lattimore and any espionage ring. Evans does show that Budenz was told this years earlier, and held the information back to use when he thought it would be most effective. But Budenz's story was itself hearsay, and not provable. Before the Tydings Committee, moreover, Budenz falsely claimed that Lattimore was asked by the Communist party to fix the Amerasia case, and later wrote that the man asked to do that was Alger Hiss. All these charges were complete and total nonsense. Charges like these, echoed and amplified by McCarthy, were precisely what destroyed his credibility among anti-Communist Americans. Indeed, they helped actually guilty people—like Hiss—claim that they, too, were innocent victims.

Evans dredges up the Amerasia case as a key example of how espionage was swept under the carpet by the Truman administration, only to be brought up years later by McCarthy. Six people, including China hand John S. Service, had been arrested and charged with espionage on behalf of the Chinese Communists. Evans reveals that there indeed was a cover-up that got Service and the others off: one orchestrated, in Service's case, by the great fixer Tommy "The Cork" Corcoran. All of this was disclosed in our 1996 book (and our earlier *New Republic* article); it is not a new revelation, although Evans tries hard to make it appear the cover-up was something he discovered. Moreover, Evans charges Service with being an actual spy, while the evidence suggests only that he was leaking material to undermine America's pro-Chiang policy. That behavior by Service was completely reprehensible, but it was not espionage. No evidence—nothing in the FBI's recorded wiretaps—indicates that Service was an actual agent.

In a similar fashion, Evans supports McCarthy's outrageous assertion about Gen. George C. Marshall. It is fair game to argue that Marshall had a wrong and naïve view of Mao and his comrades—which he most certainly did. It is another to argue that he acted on behalf of the conspiracy set in motion by Service and the other China hands, who, Evans argues unconvincingly, "were controlling U.S. policy in the Pacific." And even if Marshall was wrong, nothing can justify McCarthy's charge that the general led a "conspiracy so immense" to undermine America.

Evans is certainly correct when he challenges McCarthy's partisan enemies; they played rough, they were out to get him, and they often ran hearings as fraudulent and political as his own. Sen. Millard Tydings clearly did not run an honest investigation; it was a set-up to condemn McCarthy that itself dishonored the Senate. And Evans does prove that some of McCarthy's charges were true. Most of us remember the Ed Murrow broadcasts that showed McCarthy characterizing a black woman from Washington, D.C., Annie Lee Moss, as a hidden Communist. One recalls Sen. Stuart Symington apologizing to her for the committee, making it clear that Moss did not know Karl Marx from Groucho Marx. As it turns out, McCarthy had the right woman; she was a Communist. (David Oshinsky said this in his 1983 biography of McCarthy—so this, too, is not new.) Moss never should have had a security clearance to work near the Pentagon's code room. But even here, McCarthy never could prove, nor did he claim, that she passed anything on to the Soviets or anyone else. The Army pointed out at the time that Moss had no actual access to the code room itself or any classified material. The Moss affair was, in fact, largely irrelevant.

Finally, Evans defends the famous trips to Europe by Roy Cohn and G. David Schine to investigate U.S. Information Service libraries. It was not book-burning, he says, but a legitimate investigation to show that the libraries had far too many pro-Communist books. Evans ignores the widespread criticism of Cohn and Schine for living the high life in Europe on the taxpayer's dime, which got as much negative publicity as anything else. He also supports McCarthy in the Army-McCarthy hearings that led to his final collapse. Evans's most telling point is to show that the popular Army counsel Joe Welch, famous for his "Have you no sense of decency?" statement to McCarthy, was a complete phony. The name of a leftist lawyer who worked in Welch's firm, Fred Fisher, had been spoken in the hearing room by McCarthy. Erupting in anger, Welch made his famous statement. Evans shows that, in fact, Fisher's name had been made public by Welch himself weeks earlier in the *New York Times*. Welch's public outburst was nothing more than grandstanding that allowed him to score with the TV public and to be seen, falsely, as a man of honor. But the hearing's larger question was about the promotion of Army dentist Irving Peress to a higher rank—and Evans's claims of the supposed dangers surrounding the dentist's promotion do not hold up.

Evans's book falls far short of what it might have done to correct the record about the era. His own exaggerations and unwarranted leaps parallel those made by McCarthy. It is unlikely that his hope to change history's verdict will become a reality as a result of the publication of this book. **NR**

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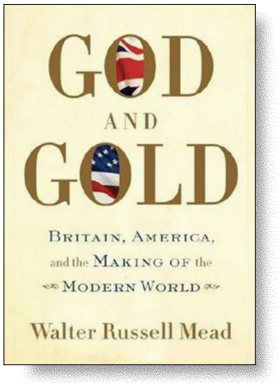
Rise and Rise of the West



God and Gold: Britain, America, and the Making of the Modern World, by Walter Russell Mead (Knopf, 464 pp., $27.95)

ANDREW ROBERTS

THE subtitle of Walter Russell Mead's 2001 work, *Special Providence*, was "American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World." His present book is no less ambitious, comprising nothing less than an all-embracing explanation for why the modern world is as it is.

"God and Gold" sums the theory up perfectly. The way that the British and the Americans worshipped God in their Protestant, private, primarily non-confessional way promoted individual conscience as the key factor in religion, rather than the guidance of priest, bishop, or king. This in turn led to the flowering of Individualism as the most important post-feudal concept, which in turn led to Capitalism, which was where the Gold flooded in. Anglo-American Protestantism, in the view of the British Tory thinker Michael Gove, "affirmed the spiritual without the need for ritual. It relished argument, lived in language, and celebrated a faith that had its beginning in the Word. Its spirit was democratic, with the Bible and church office open for all."

The wealth that tends to accrete naturally in societies that value rule of law, the rights of property, free enterprise, and all the other structures necessary for the promotion of Individualism, flowed hard and fast into the coffers first of the British Empire and then of the American Republic. There is nothing racially Anglo-Saxon about this process; should China—which last year replaced Britain as the world's fourth-largest economy—embrace genuine Individualism, rather than mere State Capitalism, such wealth will accrue to her too.

Societies that put other factors—political ideology, military adventures, communitarianism, theology, and so on—before the rights of the individual have tended to lag behind. Sometimes, as with parts of Islam today, they have failed so badly that centuries of relative technological backwardness and the concomitant envy it creates have led to a furious, atavistic reaction against the successful West. The Bourbons, the Nazis, the Communists all hoped to create societies that allowed them to thrive economically while retaining the right to bully the individual, but all failed. By the time one finishes this well-written and well-researched book, one realizes why it can't be done.

Where Mead perhaps exaggerates is in stating that "we have not thought deeply about the sources, foundations, consequences, or durability of American power." He himself serves on the executive committee of *The American Interest* magazine, which publishes learned and thought-provoking articles on precisely these subjects, as do *The National Interest*, *Commentary*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Weekly Standard*, *The American Spectator*, and a number of other journals (including, of course, the publication you are holding right now). If anything, since 9/11 there has been too much navel-gazing by Americans concerning the nature of their power in the world. It is far from true that Americans fail to think deeply about this subject: Forests are felled to print endless books and magazines on the issue.

If anything, since 9/11 there has been too much navel-gazing by Americans concerning the nature of their power in the world.

For radical Islam's envy and loathing toward the West—and especially the English-speaking peoples' individualistic societies—is highly reminiscent of the kind of emotions that outsiders have always felt toward any top-dog power ever since ancient times. The resentment felt by a Spaniard toward the Roman Empire, of a Serb toward Napoleonic France, and of a Malay toward the British Empire are actually very alike, and hardly different from the way that, say, the French view the American hegemon today. It is simply part of the human condition to set one's face against the top dog, so this should not lead Americans into too much introspection.

Mead embraces a cultural as much as a political or economic analysis, with references to Darwin, Newton, Adam Smith, Edward Lear, Tennyson, Melchizedek the priest, and Henri Bergson. He writes with the light touch necessary for such a book, with several deft asides. After describing Norman Angell's 1910 bestseller *The Great Illusion*, which argued that war was utterly impossible between Britain and Germany owing to the great commercial contacts between the two, Mead observes that "sales dropped off after August 1914." (Angell nonetheless won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1933, which should perhaps put Al Gore's into its proper perspective.) A similarly dry observation is directed toward the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, which outlawed war forever and which, Mead points out, is still legally in force today, adding, "This is, of course, a tremendous relief to all concerned."

One serious structural problem with Mead's project is that the story of Britain, America, and the making of the modern world needs to be seen from a global rather than a too Yankocentric point of view. By concentrating solely on the U.S. and Britain, Mead has virtually ignored the important contributions made by Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and, to a lesser extent, Ireland in the creation and protection of the modern world. These

Mr. Roberts is the author of *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples Since 1900*.

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countries also promoted individualism and helped to create—and defend with blood—the "first truly global society" that Mead celebrates. The achievement was of the English-speaking peoples, not just the special relationship of the U.S. and Britain to which Mead confines himself.

Also, when Mead states that "the British or Americans or both have been on the winning side of every major war in which they have participated since the late 17th century," he is assuming that Vietnam—where over 55,000 Americans lost their lives—was not a "major war," but merely a battle within the larger Cold War. This, I think, is to understate drastically the impact of the Vietnam War on the West's geopolitical position.

Mead is correct in noting that the broader record of Anglo-American victories stems from geographical factors, primarily the fact that both countries are virtually impossible to invade. But he is on trickier ground—indeed he sounds a touch like Norman Angell—when he claims that "for the foreseeable future the U.S. is unlikely to lose its unique position in the global political system." In fact, Great Powers have proved throughout history that the apex of their power is often precisely the most dangerous moment for them, and no future is less foreseeable than that of a nation that occupies a "unique position in the global political system." If America loses its willpower, as the Democrats seem to be showing signs of doing in the Middle East, no amount of wealth will prevent it from jeopardizing this hard-won but transitory "unique position." History shows there are always others ready to take the place of the top-dog power. The next president of the U.S.—whoever she may be—might well be the figure future historians identify as the person who led the retreat from global hegemonic status.

It is not gold today but Treasury bonds that matter, and China now holds enough of America's to be able to blackmail the Federal Reserve over the artificially low yuan that currently underpins her advantages in manufacturing for export. The economic factors that explain first British and then American primacy since the Industrial Revolution are now working in China's favor, and against what Mead calls "the Anglo-Saxon powers' liberal capitalism." When global hegemony passes, it does so quickly, painfully, usually irreversibly, and often when intellectuals like Walter Russell Mead are predicting that nothing will change "for the foreseeable future."

Willpower, rather than wealth, will decide. The Romans were more prosperous than the Huns; the Ottomans were more affluent than the Moghuls; the Aztecs vastly overmatched the Conquistadores in wealth, just as Weimar was richer than the Nazis and the Romanovs than the Bolsheviks. America cannot look to treasure to protect her if she fails to elect politicians willing to undertake the job of protecting her hegemony.

When Mead opines that America's great struggle against radical Islam "cannot succeed unless the U.S. can learn to talk less and listen more"; when, in his preface, he acknowledges his intellectual debt to George Soros; and when he spends time unfairly castigating neoconservatives—one is left thinking that for all his admittedly absorbing and excellent research and writing, Mead is so wrong in his assumptions that his foresight is likely to be faulty too.

India, which is just as likely as China to inherit America's mantle, is written off in one sentence in a 450-page book. With over a billion people industrializing at a rate not far behind China's, but with democracy and the English language and a far superior tertiary- and IT-education system than China's, India deserves more of a comment than that she has "found new success" and is "likely to face increasing challenges as the pace of change accelerates." With whole chapters devoted to the military threat posed by a rump of religious maniacs who harken back to the Ottoman Empire, more notice should have been taken of the economic threats posed by some powers that are rediscovering capitalism with a fury and—at least in China's case soon enough—a sense of vengeance too. **NR**

■ FILM ■

Dark Victory

ROSS DOUTHAT

SHOULD we take the Coen brothers seriously? This may seem a strange question to ask of two brothers whose joined-at-the-hip filmmaking has been sending cinephiles into raptures for more than 20 years, ever since *Blood Simple*, their shoestring-budget Texan noir, first put them on the highbrow map. But the Coens have a combination of gifts that's rare in modern American cinema: They're technical masters with a taste for the outlandish and the picaresque, and as a result a certain suspicion attaches to their efforts, along with all the plaudits—a nagging sense that the brothers don't take the art of filmmaking as seriously as their admirers think they should.

Maybe the trouble is that we aren't used to great cinema that's also laugh-out-loud funny. Howard Hawks and Preston Sturges have few heirs in modern Hollywood, where Great Movies are expected to be Very Serious Movies as well, whether they're the kind of middlebrow Oscar bait that the studios green-light to feel good about themselves, or the brooding homages to Coppola and Scorsese that every up-and-coming director is required to try his hand at. The Coens, by contrast, are defiantly unserious in their serious films as well as in their comedies: Even a brutal, blood-spattered masterpiece like *Fargo* invites the audience to giggle at the accents of its Minnesotan cops and robbers. This tendency toward highbrow-lowbrow juxtapositions places them in good company—alongside Shakespeare and Charles Dickens, among others. But it also opens the door to the oft-heard charge that for all their talent, they're ultimately just winking nihilists with a flair for composition and an eye for caricature.

No Country for Old Men, their latest effort, seems intended to lay these doubts to rest. It's the first script they've adapted, rather than invented or remade, and they've taken as their source material a

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novel by Cormac McCarthy, a writer whose seriousness is so intense as to shade occasionally into oracular self-parody. True to form, the Coens sift his prose and find the humor in it, but the audience laughs with the same nervous embarrassment as Wendell (Garret Dillahunt), the green-as-grass deputy to Tommy Lee Jones's laconic Sheriff Ed Tom Bell—using humor as a coping mechanism, and a leaven for tragedy and horror.

Fortune's fool, in this particular story, is one Llewelyn Moss (Josh Brolin, in a star-making turn), a welder and hunter and trailer-park denizen who has the bad luck to be just slightly less intelligent than he thinks he is. Out shooting antelope in the Texican hinterland, Moss happens on the aftermath of a drug deal gone wrong—the film is set in the early 1980s, when the dope trade was just beginning its long boom—and helps himself to the $2 million left abandoned near the corpses and the bullet-riddled jeeps. This dumb-but-understandable decision sets a host of villains on his tail, including a loquacious mercenary played by Woody Harrelson, a slew of gun-toting Mexicans, and Anton Chigurh (Javier Bardem), who makes the rival bad guys look like minnows flitting in the wake of a Great White Shark. Mop-topped and mournful, Chigurh is a Hannibal Lecter–style psychopath with the pretensions of a philosopher rather than an aesthete. He's an angel of death who invokes determinism to justify his slaughter. "The coin got here the same way that I did," he explains with grim patience when a potential victim objects to his flipping a quarter to decide whether she lives or dies.

Javier Bardem as villain Anton Chigurh

There are echoes of earlier Coen films in this narrative: The Moss–Chigurh duel recalls the monstrous bounty hunter Leonard Smalls's pursuit of Nicolas Cage's baby-thieving H.I. in *Raising Arizona*, and Sheriff Bell seems, at first blush, like a cousin of Frances McDormand's lawlady in *Fargo*, doggedly coping with a sudden irruption of violence in the Middle American flatlands. But in those movies, good and evil were more evenly matched, whereas the darkness at work in *No Country for Old Men* inspires confident opposition only from men like Moss, who are morally compromised themselves, and brash and foolish enough not to know what they're up against. Jones's sheriff is wiser in the ways of the world: Instead of rushing out to meet what's coming, he ambles from crime scene to crime scene, pausing to eat long breakfasts, contemplate retirement, and muse grimly about the mysteries of iniquity. He wants to catch his quarry, and yet he doesn't, because he doesn't think he's the equal of what he's facing.

What's more, he's probably right. *No Country for Old Men* isn't just a thriller—though it's as gripping an example of that genre as you'll find in theaters this year—and Chigurh isn't just another hissable-yet-magnetic Hollywood psychopath. He's a harbinger of a blood-dimmed new order, and his killing spree embodies a larger upheaval that's beyond any sheriff's ability to confront and turn aside. In an opening voiceover, Bell waxes nostalgic for the Texas lawmen of yore, conditioning the audience to expect a conventional lament for the vanished American frontier. But the Coen brothers have something else in mind entirely—an elegy not for the Wild West of the 19th century, but for the domesticated West of the 20th, which is giving way, under the unhappy eyes of men like Bell, to a bloodier, more lawless world, where borders and badges don't make the difference they once did.

"What you got ain't nothing new," a retired, crippled lawman tells a shell-shocked Bell near the end of the film, and then recounts how a gang of Indians shot one of the sheriff's ancestors in cold blood back "in nineteen zero and nine" and left him to die on his front porch. That was the old way—kill or be killed—and in the grim, gorgeous, and riveting *No Country for Old Men*, what's old is new again. **NR**

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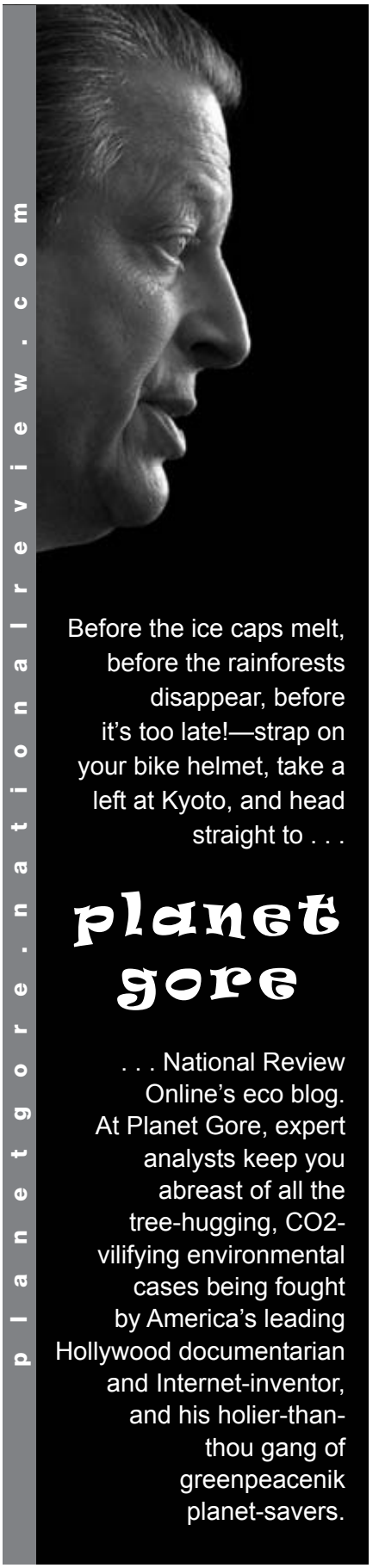
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■ COUNTRY LIFE ■

Rats!

RICHARD BROOKHISER

My wife's cries get my attention. This was a cry of disgust.

"There's a *rat* on the table." I went to see for myself.

Houses in the country are permeable; it is a fact of life. One summer a frog jumped through the front door and hid under the sofa. I tried to flush him out with a broom handle, which he easily evaded, until I thought to open the front door again, whereupon he made his own exit. The winter we enlarged the bathroom, phoebes made a nest on the hub of the ceiling fan in the living room. One night I bent to pick up a shoelace which turned out to be a tiny black snake. He reared and threatened, as if he were a cobra in *The Jungle Book*, then chose flight through a crack between floorboards. Screens or no, we play host to bugs of all kinds, from the spiders in the sink that seem to ask why you want to brush your teeth just then, to the crickets that settle beneath the radiators or behind the baseboards and fill the house with their nighttime song. Months will pass without a mouse; then you see the telltale droppings or the uninvited nibble. Out come the traps; out go the corpses (less dingy, and somehow sweeter looking, than city mice), until the next visitors.

The week before, we had left three ears of Indian corn on the kitchen table as decoration. When we came back to the country, one ear was on the floor in the corner, clean as the cylinder of an old typewriter. I lazily blamed mice, though I should have realized that moving an ear of corn is out of their weight class. So now we knew the culprit.

City rats have a bad image. The archetypal evidence of neglect in any tabloid story on crack babies saved from whore foster mothers is to describe the apartments in which they were found as "rat-infested." (Rats never live anywhere; they infest.) You see them, in the parks at night, crossing the paths in their odd gait, awkward yet quick, or down in the tracks of the subway, commuting along the third rail. They are the color of soot; they eat garbage; they live in filth. What were they doing in the country?

I put down glue traps, which got almost immediate results. Fifteen minutes after we went to bed, there was a thrashing. A rat had caught himself squarely in the glue, and he was trying, by twitching his whole body, to shake himself free. He was dark grey, and about four inches long, minus the tail. I have since learned that there are two sorts of rats in this part of the world, Norway rats and black rats, and that the latter have longer tails. Instead of measuring, I was trying to figure out what to do. Picking up a corner of the glue trap and flinging him outside, as one does when one has caught a mouse, seemed out of the question. He was larger and livelier, and I didn't want to be that close, so I fetched a shovel from the shed.

I put down glue traps, which got almost immediate results. Fifteen minutes after we went to bed, there was a thrashing. A rat had caught himself squarely in the glue.

Now I learned something new: Rats scream. In one of Robert Browning's poems, the narrator accidentally spears a rat. "But, ugh! it sounded like a baby's shriek!" Smart, sheltered kids, first reading poems without experience of life, note the grotesquerie, and maybe look for a symbol. But a shrieking baby is exactly what a rat sounds like. I nudged him in front of the door to the deck, opened it, and flicked him out. Then I turned off the lights and left the night to listen to him.

The next morning, the glue trap was a few feet away, and the rat was gone. I imagined that a predator had taken him, but I suspected that he had freed himself.

The next night I saw exactly how it works. A rat caught himself on a glue trap in a narrow slot between the refrigerator and the wall. Before I could lift him up, I had to slide the trap forward with the shovel handle. But as the trap moved, the rat braced himself against the refrigerator. Together we pulled, though in opposite directions. His haunches stretched out of the muck, then broke free. Back to his lairs he went.

After lights out, I caught rat number three, this one, like the first, on the open floor. Now it was a routine: in the shovel, out the door, onto the deck. But what would prevent this rat from wriggling away? The best I could think to do was to drop another glue trap on top of him, making a rat sandwich. Of course by morning he was free, as his brother had been the morning before.

I am not pleased with my lack of resource, or determination. A blow with the shovel would have put the things out of their misery. I suppose I held back because I didn't relish cleaning up rat remains, should they burst. But they were also too personal. Rats are the size of small pets—guinea pigs, kittens. People keep them as pets. They had reactions that were immediately comprehensible. If I had grown up on a farm, or hunted, I would be used to necessary animal killing, but I can't change my past, and 1:30 A.M. was a bad time to start making up for it.

So we did the reasonable thing: We looked in the phone book for exterminators. "I caught a rat in a glue trap in my kitchen," I told one. "Do you want us to come take it out?" I was asked. "No, I want you to rid my house of vermin." A woman came to make an estimate, then a man came with black plastic bait stations. After a week (rats are suspicious) they will eat the poisoned bait, then die of desiccation. I will be in Argentina. **NR**

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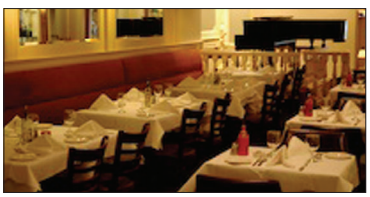

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Easy on Musharraf

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 9

INITIATED as a student into the Yale Political Union, I learned of the reply that Louisiana's boss-man had made ten years earlier to an invitation to join in welcoming the advent of the new student organization. Huey Long had replied by Western Union, "I KNOW NOTHING ABOUT THE YALE POLITICAL UNION. IF IT'S FOR ME, I'M FOR IT." Maybe that retort was the beginning of wisdom, from a man who knew everything about political life except how to dodge an assassin's bullet. But the question remained whether reciprocity was all that was needed.

Still, the bald empiricism of Huey Long lives on in modern political circumstances. For several years, we have been living happy, if not holy, lives by accepting General Musharraf as the de facto leader of Pakistan and, when asked if he was also the de jure leader of Pakistan, engaging in what the author John Chamberlain used to call the "averted gaze." This is the posture you assume when the leader you are dealing with is deporting himself by not quite the highest standards one could have hoped for—but there he is, the leader you have to get on with.

We haven't learned (and probably never will) what is the right blend of self-concern and political virtue required of foreign leaders, and this is amply demonstrated by the headlines given to the Pakistan crisis. General Musharraf, when he took power eight years ago, seemed to be acting to prevent certainly civil strife, perhaps civil war. And in that volatile part of the world, we needed support for American ideals—which of course include lives governed by political democracy. On the historical point that Musharraf was not a leader come to power by democratic clamor, we averted our gaze. But then last week Musharraf simply asserted the power he exercises as head of Pakistan, disdaining any presumption of diplomatic protocols, and the U.S. government is stuck. We need to be faithful to democratic ideals, and these have been seriously challenged by General Musharraf.

There are critical observations we could make, with direct reference to political history. The birth of Pakistan, out of the partition of the Indian subcontinent, brought on some of the bloodiest massacres of the twentieth century. But Pandit Nehru was not about to step to one side and permit constitutional democracy to refine his ambitions. He simply wanted to be rid of British colonialism and to prevail in as much of what he deemed his country as he could. But arrangements were less than perfect, and it was never agreed between India and Pakistan what the civil boundaries are to be. Meanwhile, Mr. Nehru pursued his country's own interests as he saw them, and this entailed a near-slavish subordination of India's foreign policy to the demands of the Soviet Union. And today, the unholy mess in Afghanistan, where determined zealots are fighting for the re-emergence of the Taliban, reminds us that there are many people in the area who opt for life under religious bigots.

At this moment Musharraf is talking about elections early next year, and he is in that way appeasing the dogmatic pro-democracy forces. But Madame Bhutto, the political alternative on the scene, is demanding more—specifically, an end to emergency rule—and is threatening in direct language civil insubordination unless she gets what she wants.

What we want is relative peace and stability, an end to temporizing with the Taliban, and tough action against terrorists who seep into the area. There is only the one point to pull out of the consternation there, and it was adumbrated by the Kingfish. We can't reasonably ask Musharraf to submit to Robert's Rules of political democracy if that would mean imperiling any strategic hope for a nation we wish to be partners with.

Crime? Punishment?

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 16

A PERPLEXED citizen in Greenwich, Conn., writes to his local newspaper saying that the anti-abortion movement suffers from the absence of a comprehensive position on the practice. He believes that the Catholic bishops, working en banc, have a responsibility to declare publicly that the Church is not asking for any law that would make abortion a criminal offense: "Would it not be advisable for Catholic bishops to make it clear that they are not urging criminal penalties for abortion? This would assist them in their efforts to persuade Catholics and others for their moral position. And allow Catholic politicians to take such a position so long as they do not advocate in favor of abortion from a moral standpoint."

The problem with this is that laws prohibiting behavior but failing to punish offenders lack the indispensable leg that gives solidity to a three-legged stool. Such laws are like playthings for surrealist painters, whose license to depict unreality is not questioned. It looses them from the prison bars of syllogistic thought. The result is a kind of moral confusion that inhibits meticulous analysis.

We can begin by citing the obvious difficulties:

1. Most abortion opponents persuasively argue the question on the understanding that abortion is a weighty matter. One begins, then, by insisting that it is not to be spoken of as a mere traffic offense.

2. Even if *Roe* v. *Wade* were overturned, no one (well, practically no one) is prepared to recommend a punishment approaching the gravity of the offense. If abortion were once again a crime, but practitioners did not face heavy penalties, then you have emasculated the sanctions you are willing to invoke in pursuit of the law. So—the woman goes free and unharried, the doctor also goes free, but, in some communities at least, there are sanctions out there that prompt

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him not to advertise himself as the corner abortionist.

3. Laws that seek enforcement have to appeal to moral consciences. If they don't, the enforcement becomes formalistic—and, eventually, the law becomes a dead letter. The dilemma of Prohibition is illustrative. The law was there, indeed it was flagrantly there in the form of a constitutional amendment that forbade the sale of "intoxicating liquors." The community would endorse law enforcement that closed down bars and even imprisoned the occasional smuggler. But Prohibition never reached the authority of true taboo. Nobody objected if, at the wedding party, you came upon a little champagne.

Now we confront shadings and equivocations. A few years ago pro-abortion groups sued to force anti-abortion groups to stop running "Wanted" posters of "Deadly Doctors"—abortionists—on their websites, after one of those doctors was shot and killed. The court was asked why the abortion protesters couldn't plead the First Amendment. And a candidate's position on abortion becomes an important item in his political dossier. This is reflected in the latest figures on the voting public. Thirty-four percent of voters believe abortion should be generally available, 39 percent believe that restrictions on abortion should be tightened, and 25 percent believe abortion should not be permitted at all.

Divorce has been the rounds. Early in the lifetime of modern readers, there were many states in which one could not get a divorce from a spouse unwilling to dissolve the marriage, and in some states, such as New York, divorce was difficult even if both spouses were willing. Now divorces are relatively easy, and where there is no contention between the parties, they approach simple clerical exercises, in the direction of "I divorce you, I divorce you, I divorce you," which is all the ritual required under Muslim law for a husband to end a marriage.

We are far away from a society that attaches zero importance to granting the protection of the law to the unborn fetus. But both sides in this argument could contribute to peaceful democratic exchange by saying what it is they would not do if in power.

Get the Time Right

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 30

THERE was no intellectual grand plan moving this little scenario. It happened that I was reading Harold Holzer's book on the Cooper Union address of one of our most revered presidents, Abraham Lincoln. That address was given in New York on February 27, 1860, and the author traces Mr. Lincoln's movements in the few days before the epochal speech. We learn that it took Lincoln three days to get from Springfield, Ill., to New York City, changing trains three times.

But it wasn't this that caught the reader's attention in terms of sheer indefensible anachronism. It was another datum, mentioned en route to Cooper Union. It was that the time in Pittsburgh was 13 minutes different from the time at the preceding stop, a few miles away.

We bump into these anomalies, poking about in American history. And they are not absolutely without foundation. What happened in America was that metropolises of robust size and self-assurance simply decided that when the sun was directly overhead, that time would be pronounced as noon in, say, Dubuque, the same process yielding times for noon at Miami and Phoenix. This gave rise to what one might call the Pittsburgh paradox, which afflicted Abraham Lincoln in his rescue mission for the United States.

Well, such inconveniences became first manifest, then intolerable. So America did the empirical thing, ordaining a uniform time over a specified area, corresponding with the sun's movements. Every sun-passage of 15 degrees at the equator justified one hour's difference in your watch. But instead of making official the differences between Cleveland, and Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia, the same time would hold sway over an entire hour's distance.

The challenge now is to move on from what is logical in local time, to what is logical in historical time. People 400 years ago ran into a theological iceberg—namely, that the calculation of the date of Easter was becoming removed from the secular calendar—which required modification to adapt a legacy of the Roman Empire to the facts of life. The astronomers who moved us from the Julian calendar to the Gregorian calendar reasoned with the sun and the stars in their eyes. The Julian calendar was slightly too long, which over the centuries had led to a drift of ten days forward. The ten days were shaved off, and a new calendar formulated. But the accurate solar year is not divisible into an equal number of 24-hour periods, which gave us leap year.

Today's problem is the ongoing awkwardness of a calendar that refuses to give us stability regarding days of the week. Joe Jr. was born at noon on October 30, which was a Tuesday. But his birthday will be celebrated from year to year not necessarily on Tuesday, but on whatever day hits up on October 30.

The fixed-week calendar—in which every month begins on a Monday—would do away with this problem. It would also solve other problems. For example, the Gregorian calendar precludes regular divisions within the year necessary for accurate statistical comparisons. Half-years have an equal number of days only in leap years. The year never divides evenly into quarters; the months are irregular; and neither the year nor the months, except February, can be divided evenly into weeks.

The universal calendar was endorsed, in the early fifties, by members of both houses of Congress, but was killed by the Eisenhower administration, whose spokesman at the U.N., Henry Cabot Lodge, said that the American people simply hadn't demanded calendar reform. Right, and they haven't demanded other "reforms," which doesn't mean we should abandon the proposal to classify tobacco as a drug, or to stop spending money we haven't generated, or—all those other things.

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"No kidding?—Hiawatha and Pocahontas*?"*

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

Losing at *Survivor*

Ever since this here Internet thingy came along, I've spent the first hour of each morning trying to figure out which if any of the gazillions of overnight e-mails is genuine. This one struck me as obviously fake: a press release for a new reality-TV show in which non-Muslims get to live under sharia.

But, inevitably, it turns out to be genuine. Filmed in Harrogate, one of the least Muslim towns in Yorkshire, the series will air on Britain's Channel 4 and feature infidels trying to live as Muslims for three weeks. It's not as easy as it looks. One participant, offered a cold baked potato at the end of his fast, stomped off to the pub for a pint of beer and a pork pie. "That incident was completely unprompted," the producer Narinder Minhas told the *Guardian*, "and the scene with Suliman, one of the mentors, and Luke, the gay hairdresser, in the clothes shop is one of my favorites."

Luke the gay hairdresser? Yes, Mr. Minhas has chosen a scientifically representative sample of early-21st-century infidels: a gay hairdresser, a "glamour model" partial to flashing her breasts, an atheist taxi driver with a porn habit, etc. Evidently, Harrogate has changed somewhat from the genteel spa town it was when I took tea and crumpets there some years ago. Anyway, the gay coiffeur and the porno cabbie et al. have to live without pork, alcohol, immodest ladies' clothing, and non-marital sex. Which pretty much eliminates every pillar of the Yorkshire infidel lifestyle.

Minhas, previously the producer of *Priest Idol* and *Indian Finishing School*, says he and Channel 4 wanted their new reality series to be "fun." "We were a bit tired," he explained wearily, "of seeing guys with beards who are a bit scary." Indeed. Who among us has not found himself fighting vainly the old ennui at the umpteenth fire-breathing imam exhorting the lads to one more chorus of "Death to the Great Satan"? It was unclear from the publicity what happens if you find the three-week sharia tough sledding. Do you get voted off the island? Or beheaded off the island? It had the vague feel of sharia-lite, the Islamic equivalent of Richard Gere Buddhism.

A day or two later, I awoke to an e-mail about a British teacher in Sudan facing 40 lashes and blasphemy charges for having been careless enough to let her pupils name a classroom teddy bear

You'd better watch what you name him.

"Mohammed." Don't know what precise sura references the matter of cuddly-toy nomenclature, but apparently it's a big deal. You can't help feeling Luke the gay hairdresser would have a livelier sharia-for-a-day session in the Khartoum spin-off.

Meanwhile, away from reality TV, reality plods on. In Pakistan, the suicide bomber who killed 170 people at Benazir Bhutto's homecoming rally is believed by police to be a one-year-old child conscripted by his jihadist father. Miss Bhutto had glimpsed the kid and beckoned dad over for a baby-kissing photo-op, but someone got between them, and her motorcade swept on—fortunately for her. In the West, not many of us would wire up our one-year-olds, and, if we did, they'd soon be outnumbered.

I said in my book that Europe's demographically shriveled liberal progressives had in effect adopted the same strategy as the 19th-century Shakers, who were forbidden to reproduce and so could increase their numbers only by conversion. Result: There aren't a lot of Shakers around today. At the time I wrote it, a year and a half back, I meant it as a cheap metaphorical crack at the expense of European fertility rates. After all, it would be absurd to suggest that liberal progressives were formally enjoined to desist from going forth and multiplying.

But I'm reminded of some advice I once got from a showbiz veteran: The easiest way to make a million bucks is to take your favorite gag and play it for real. My little Shaker crack has been eagerly taken up and made literal by the environmental movement: As the *Daily Mail* headline put it, "Meet the Women Who Won't Have Babies—Because They're Not Eco-Friendly." The best way to save the earth for the next generation is not to have a next generation. So Toni and Sarah, at the peak of their reproductive years, both decided never to have children, to "protect the planet." As Toni explained, "Every person who is born uses more food, more water, more land, more fossil fuels, more trees and produces more rubbish, more pollution, more greenhouse gases, and adds to the problem of overpopulation." We are the pollution, and sterilization is the solution. It's the ultimate reality-TV show: a series of *Survivor* where *everyone* gets voted off the island.

Toni and Sarah assume they're saving the planet for Al Gore's polar bears, and the spotted owl, and the three-toed tree sloth, and the green-cheeked parrot. In fact, they're saving the planet for the cultures whose womenfolk don't get themselves sterilized. Forty percent of children in London primary schools now speak a language other than English at home. No matter how frantically Toni and Sarah and all their chums tie their tubes, England grows ever more crowded.

The culture that built the modern world is playing *Civilizational Survivor*. Alas, sharia isn't a TV show. For one thing, it never gets canceled. **NR**

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TIME IS IT. Over 92% of people who own exercise equipment and 88% of people who own health club memberships do not exercise. A 4 minute complete workout is no longer hard to believe for all the people who since 1990 have bought our excellent Range of Motion machine (ROM). Over 97% of people who rent our ROM for 30 days wind up purchasing it based upon the health benefits experienced during that tryout, and the ROM performance score at the end of each 4 minute workout that tells the story of health and fitness improvement. At under 20 cents per use, the 4 minute ROM exercise is the least expensive full body complete exercise a person can do. How do we know that it is under 20 cents per use? Over 90% of ROM machines go to private homes, but we have a few that are in commercial use for over 12 years and they have endured over 80,000 uses each, without need of repair or overhaul. The ROM 4 minute workout is for people from 10 to over 100 years old and highly trained athletes as well. The ROM adapts its resistance every second during the workout to exactly match the user's ability to perform work. It balances blood sugar, and repairs bad backs and shoulders. Too good to be true? Get our free video and see for yourself. The best proof for us is that 97% of rentals become sales. Please visit our website at: **www.FastExercise.com**.

The typical ROM purchaser goes through several stages:

1. Total disbelief that the ROM can do all this in only 4 minutes.
2. Rhetorical (and sometimes hostile) questioning and ridicule.
3. Reading the ROM literature and reluctantly understanding it.
4. Taking a leap of faith and renting a ROM for 30 days.
5. Being highly impressed by the results and purchasing a ROM.
6. Becoming a ROM enthusiast and trying to persuade friends.
7. Being ignored and ridiculed by the friends who think you've lost your mind.
8. After a year of using the ROM your friends admiring your good shape.
9. You telling them (again) that you only exercise those 4 minutes per day.
10. Those friends reluctantly renting the ROM for a 30 day trial.
    Then the above cycle repeats from point 5 on down.

The more we tell people about the ROM the less they believe it.

From 4 minutes on the ROM you get the same results as from 20 to 45 minutes aerobic exercise (jogging, running, etc.) for cardio and respiratory benefits, plus 45 minutes weight training for muscle tone and strength, plus 20 minutes stretching exercise for limberness/flexibility.

Order a **FREE** DVD or video from **www.FastExercise.com** or call (818) 787-6460

Factory Showroom: **ROM**FAB, 8137 Lankershim Blvd., North Hollywood, CA 91605
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RENT A ROM FOR 30 DAYS. RENTAL APPLIES TO PURCHASE.

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